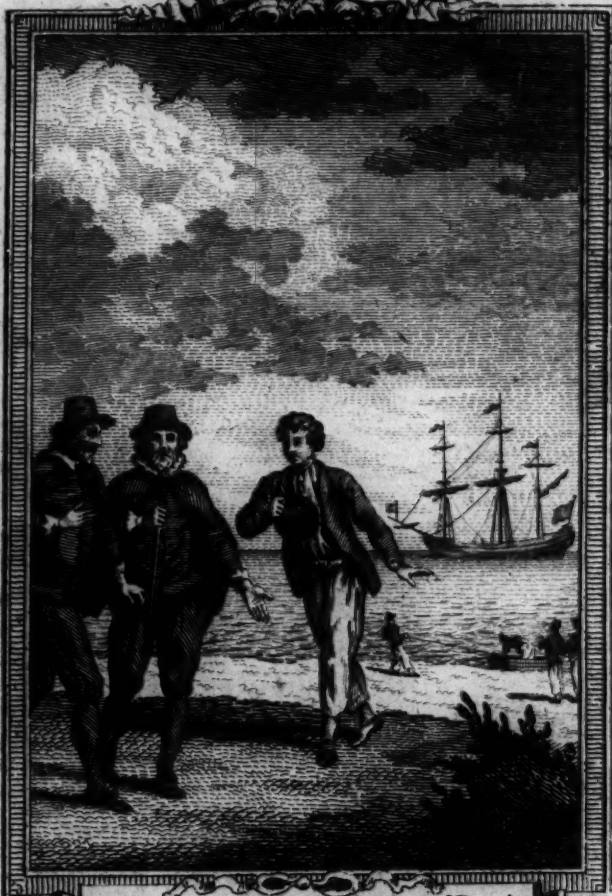
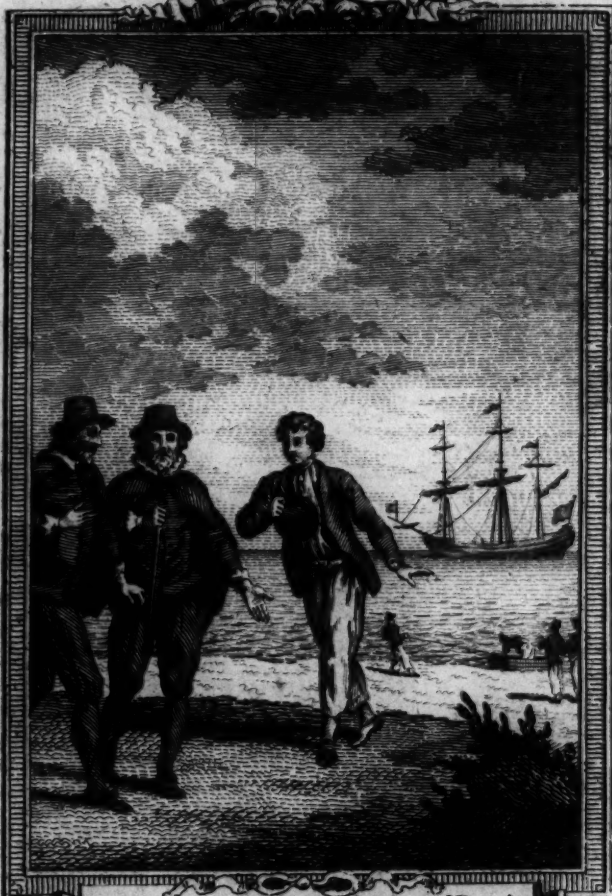




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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM THE
INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR,
TO THE
DISSOLUTION of the Present PARLIAMENT.

ADORNED WITH PLATES.

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES.

By JOSEPH COLLYER,
Author of the NEW SYSTEM OF GEOGRAPHY,
in Two Volumes Folio.

VOL. IX.

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Printed for J. PAYNE; and Sold by J. JOHNSON,
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IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES

BY JOSEPH H. COLE

Author of the New System of Geography
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VOL. IV.

NEW YORK

Printed for J. L. RAY, and Sold by J. L. RAY,
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RECEIVED



THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.



ELIZABETH.



ESSEX employed even a still more provoking expedient, by making secret applications to the king of Scots, who, harrassed by his turbulent and factious subjects, cast a wishful eye to the succession of England; and in proportion as the queen advanced in years, his desire of mounting that throne encreased. James, therefore, willingly listened to his proposals, though he did not approve the violent methods which Essex intended to employ; for

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he had communicated his scheme to Mountjoy, lord deputy of Ireland; and had engaged him to entertain thoughts of bringing over part of his army into England, to force Elizabeth to declare James her successor.

A select council of malecontents was formed, who commonly met at Drury-house, which belonged to Sir Charles Davers, and to them Essex communicated all his rash and precipitate designs. Among other criminal projects, he consulted with them on the method of taking arms, and whether he had best begin with seizing the Tower or the palace; or set out with making himself master of both. The last enterprize being preferred, it was agreed, that Sir Christopher Blount, with a choice detachment, should take possession of the palace-gates; that Sir John Davis should seize the hall; that Sir Charles Davers should take possession of the star-chamber and presence-chamber; and that Essex, attended by a body of his partizans, rushing in, should humbly entreat the queen to remove his enemies; oblige her to assemble a parliament, and with their common consent, to settle a new plan of government.

Mean while reasons of suspicion were carried to the queen, who sent Robert Sackville, the son of the treasurer, to Essex-house; who, under the pretence of a visit, was to discover whether there was any unusual concourse of people, or any extraordinary preparations, that might threaten an insurrection. Essex soon after received a summons to attend the council
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at the treasurer's house ; and while he was comparing this circumstance with Sackville's late unexpected visit, he received a private note, which gave him a caution to provide for his own safety. Hence he concluded, that his conspiracy was suspected, if not discovered ; and that the easiest punishment he could suffer, would be a new and more severe confinement. He therefore excused himself to the council, on the pretence of being indisposed ; and immediately sent to his most intimate friends for their advice and assistance. They consulted, whether it was best to fly the kingdom, or instantly to seize the palace with what force they could assemble, or to rely on the affections of the citizens, who were known to have a great regard for the earl. Essex professed himself against the first expedient ; and declared, that he was resolved to hazard every thing, rather than submit to live a fugitive. It seemed impossible to seize the palace without more preparations ; especially as they had heard that the queen, having some suspicion, had doubled her guards. As Essex had been chiefly buoyed up by his popularity, he fondly imagined, that he might overturn Elizabeth's government, with no other assistance than the good will of the multitude ; and in this he was confirmed by the arrival of a person, who, as if he had received a commission for that purpose, declared, that they might securely rest any project on the affections of the Londoners. It was therefore immediately resolved to raise the citizens the next day ; and emissaries were dis-

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patched to inform all Essex's friends, that Cobham and Raleigh had laid schemes against his life, and to entreat their presence and assistance.

The next day, which was the eighth of February 1601, there appeared at Essex-house the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Sandys and Monteagle, with about three hundred gentlemen of rank and fortune, whom Essex acquainted with the danger to which he pretended he was exposed, by the designs of his enemies. Mean while the queen being informed of what passed, ordered the magistrates of London, to keep the citizens in readiness; and then sent Egerton, lord-keeper, the earl of Worcester, Sir William Knolles, comptroller, and Popham, the chief-justice, to Essex-house, to know the cause of such unusual commotions. It was with some difficulty that they were admitted through a wicket; but all their servants, except the purse-bearer, were excluded. They charged Essex's followers, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms; and, in their turn, were threatened by the angry multitude who surrounded them; upon which the earl, finding that matters were carried too far to be recalled, shut them up as prisoners in his house, and sallied forth with about two hundred followers, with no other arms but walking-swords; and in his passage to the city, was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwell, crying all the while, "For the queen! for the queen! A plot is laid for my life;" and relying on the assistance of the sheriff, proceeded

proceeded to his house. The citizens flocked about him in amazement; but though he exhorted them to take arms, none offered to join him; and the sheriff, on the earl's approaching his house, slipped out at the back door, and hastened to the lord mayor. In the mean time, Essex, observing the coldness of the citizens, began to despair of success, and thought of retreating to his own house; but found the streets in his passage barricadoed, and guarded by the citizens, under the command of Sir John Levison. On his endeavouring to force his way, Tracy, a young gentleman for whom he had a great friendship, was killed, with two or three of the Londoners; and the greatest part of his followers beginning secretly to disperse, the earl, attended by a few of his partizans, retired towards the Thames; and taking boat, reached Essex-house. He there found that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, whom he had before sent to capitulate with the lord-keeper and the other counsellors, had not only set them at liberty, but had gone to court with them. Essex being now reduced to despair, at first seemed resolved to defend himself to the last extremity; and rather to perish with his sword in his hand, than by the hand of the executioner: yet after demanding, in vain, of the soldiers who invested his house, first hostages, and then conditions, he at last surrendered at discretion.

During all this commotion, Elizabeth had behaved with as great tranquillity as if there had only passed a trifling fray in the streets,
in

5 THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

in which she had no concern ; and soon after, ordered the principal criminals to be brought to their trials. The earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before Buckhurst, who acted as lord-steward, and twenty-five peers. Besides the insurrection, the treasonable conferences at Drury-house, were proved by undoubted evidence ; and when sentence was pronounced, Essex spoke like one who had no other expectation but of suffering death ; yet added, that he should be sorry to be represented to the queen as one who despised her clemency, though he believed he should not make any cringing submissions to obtain it. Southampton behaved with great mildness and submission ; and entreated the good offices of the peers in so modest and becoming a manner, as excited their compassion.

It is remarkable, that though Bacon was not one of the crown lawyers, and was therefore not obliged, by his office, to assist at this trial, yet his desire of obtaining the favour of the queen made him act so inconsistently with every sentiment of gratitude and honour, as to be active in endeavouring to bereave of life his generous friend and patron.

The solitude of a prison, and reflections on a future state, had such an effect on the heart of Essex, that the sentiments of religion took full possession of his mind ; and being persuaded, by the divines who visited him, that he could never obtain pardon from above, unless he made a full confession of his disloyal proceedings, he sent to the council an
account

E L I Z A B E T H.

account of all his criminal designs, and of his correspondence with the king of Scots ; and in this account, he did not spare even his most intimate friends ; but sought to pacify his present remorse, by making such atonements, as, in any other time of his life, he would have thought more blameable than the very attempts of which he now repented.

The situation of this nobleman excited all the tender affections of Elizabeth, and filled her mind with agitation and irresolution. She was distracted by a perpetual struggle between pride and compassion, resentment and inclination ; and during this interval, was, perhaps, as great an object of compassion, as Essex himself. She signed the warrant for his execution, and then countermanded it ; she again resolved on his death, but felt a new return of tenderness. She was told by Essex's enemies, that he himself desired to die ; and had said, that she could never be safe while he lived. This proof of repentance, and of his concern for her, had probably a contrary effect to what they intended, and revived all the fond affection she had so long indulged for the unhappy prisoner. But what chiefly hardened her heart against him, was, his never making, as she every moment expected, application to her for mercy and forgiveness.

The earl of Essex, after his return from the successful expedition against Cadiz, on observing the encrease of the queen's regard for him, had taken occasion to express his concern, that her service required him to be often absent

sent from her person, which exposed him to the ill offices which his enemies, who were assiduous in their attendance, might employ against him. Moved with this tender jealousy, she made him the present of a ring, and desired him to keep that pledge of her affection, assuring him, that into whatever disgrace he should fall, and whatever prejudices she might be brought to entertain against him, yet, if he sent her that ring, she would instantly, upon the sight of it, recollect her former tenderness, afford him a patient hearing, and lend a favourable ear to his apology. Notwithstanding all Essex's misfortunes, he reserved this precious gift to the last extremity; but after his trial and condemnation, resolving to try the experiment, he gave the ring to the countess of Nottingham, and desired her to deliver it to the queen: but the countess was induced, by her husband, Essex's mortal enemy, to keep the ring in her possession; and Elizabeth, who still expected that her favourite would make this last appeal to her tenderness, and ascribed his not doing it to his invincible obstinacy, was, after much delay, and many inward struggles, pushed, by her resentment and policy, to sign the warrant, and to permit its being executed.

The unhappy earl suffered privately within the Tower, agreeably to his own request; he being apprehensive, lest the favour and compassion of the public should too much raise his heart in those moments that required humiliation under the afflicting hand of heaven. He suffered in the presence of the earls of Cumberland

berland and Hertford, the lord viscount Bindon, the lord Thomas Howard, the lords Darcy, Compton, Morely, and many other persons of distinction: Sir Walter Raleigh retired into the armory, from whence he saw the execution, at which he could not help shedding tears. Essex appeared on the scaffold in a suit of black sattin, and bowing to the spectators, confessed his crime, with marks of uncommon sorrow and contrition, though he protested, that he had never entertained a thought to the prejudice of her majesty's person: then turning to the divines who attended him, he joined in their prayers; which being ended, he submitted his neck to the executioner, who, with three strokes, severed his head from his body. This melancholy event, in which the people were greatly interested, on account of their affection for this unhappy earl, happened on the 25th of April 1601, when Essex was but thirty-four years of age.

Several of the associates of Essex, as Cuff, Davers, Merick, Blount and Davis, were tried and condemned; and all of them, except Davis, were executed; but the queen pardoned the rest from the opinion, that they were drawn in merely from their friendship for that nobleman, and their regard for his safety.

The king of Scots now apprehending, that his correspondence with Essex might have given offence to Elizabeth, sent ambassadors to England, to congratulate the queen on her escape from the late conspiracy. On the other hand, the king of France, who was naturally averse

to the union of England and Scotland, ordered his ambassador to drop some hints to Cecil, of his willingness to concur in any measures for disappointing the hopes of James; but Cecil shewing an entire disapprobation of such schemes, the court of France proceeded farther.

Henry IV. made, this summer, a journey to Calais; and Elizabeth went to Dover, in hopes of having a personal interview with a prince, for whom she had the greatest esteem. The French king, who had entertained the same regard for her, would gladly have accepted the proposal; but many difficulties occurring, the design of an interview was, by common consent, laid aside. Elizabeth, however, wrote two letters to that prince, expressing her desire to converse on an affair of importance, with one of his ministers in whom he reposed an entire confidence. Upon which the marquis of Rosni, Henry's prime-minister and favourite, came in disguise to Dover; and this able statesman has given, in his memoirs, a full account of his conversation with the queen. Elizabeth had formed a scheme for establishing, in conjunction with Henry, a durable balance of power in Europe, by erecting new states on the ruins of the house of Austria, particularly, by uniting all the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands into one republic, in order to form a perpetual barrier against the dangerous encrease both of the power of France and Spain. Henry himself had long meditated such a project against the Austrian family; and

and Rosni was greatly surprized at finding, that Elizabeth and his master, though they had never communicated their sentiments on this subject, had not only formed the same general plan, but also the same means of executing it. But he convinced the queen, that it would be necessary to postpone, for some years, their united attack on the house of Austria; and departed, filled with just admiration at the greatness of Elizabeth's mind, and the solidity of her judgment.

While the queen was forming such extensive projects, the affairs of Ireland, though well conducted, were still in disorder, and the expence incurred by the war lay heavy upon her narrow revenues. Her treasurer represented to her, that the sums of money remitted to Ireland came, by the necessary course of circulation, into the hands of the rebels, and enabled them to buy abroad, arms and ammunition, which, from the poverty of the country, they could not otherwise purchase. He therefore proposed, that her forces should be paid in base money, which, besides the great saving to the revenue, would not pass in a foreign market. In opposition to this, some of her wisest counsellors maintained, that this would be attended with the danger of producing a mutiny among the troops, who would soon find, from experience, that they were defrauded in their income. Though Elizabeth justly valued herself on having fixed the standard of the English coin, which had been much debased by her predecessors, she was seduced by the lord-

treasurer's specious arguments; and coined a great quantity of base money, which was sent into Ireland to pay her forces.

Mountjoy, the deputy, foreseeing the danger of a mutiny among the troops, instantly led them into the field; and resolved, by means of strict discipline, and keeping them employed against the enemy, to prevent the inconveniences that were justly apprehended. He harrassed Tyrone in Ulster; built fortresses; formed military roads; and, by destroying the provisions of the rebels, reduced them to perish with famine in the woods and morasses, to which they were obliged to retreat. Sir Henry Docwray, who commanded another body of troops, at the same time took the castle of Derry, and put garrisons into Newton and Ainogh; and seizing the monastery of Donnegal, near Ballyshannon, he threw troops into it, and defended it against the assaults of O'Donnell. In the mean while Sir George Carew, who was in the province of Munster, seized the titular earl of Desmond, and sent him over, with Florence Macarty, another chieftain, prisoner to England; and having obtained a reinforcement from England of two thousand men, threw himself into Corke, which he supplied with arms and provisions, and put every thing in a condition for opposing the Spanish invasion, which was daily expected.

At length Don John d'Aquila, at the head of four thousand Spaniards, arrived at Kinsale; and Sir Richard Piercy, who commanded
in

in that town a small garrison of a hundred and fifty men, was, on their first appearance, obliged to abandon it. The Irish immediately discovered their inclination to join the Spaniards, in order to free themselves from the English government, with which they were extremely dissatisfied. Camden observes, that one chief ground of their complaint was the introduction of trials by juries, an institution abhorred by that people, though nothing can be of greater advantage to the support of liberty and equity. The Irish also favoured the Spaniards, from the opinion, that they were descended from that nation, and from their attachment to the Catholic religion. D'Aquila took the title of general in the holy war for the preservation of the faith in Ireland; and declared, that queen Elizabeth being, by several bulls of the pope, dethroned, and her subjects absolved from their oaths of allegiance, he was come to deliver the Irish from the dominion of the devil. Mountjoy, to prevent a total insurrection of the Irish, was obliged to act with the greatest vigour; and formed the siege of Kinsale by land, while a small squadron, commanded by Sir Richard Levison, blockaded it by sea. But he had no sooner begun his operations, than he was informed of the arrival of Alphonso Ocampo, with two thousand Spaniards, who had taken possession of Baltimore and Berehaven; on which he sent Sir George Carew to oppose their progress. Mean while Tyrone, with Mac-Surley, Randal, Tyrell baron of Kelly,

and other Irish chieftains, had joined Ocampo, with all their forces, and were marching to the relief of Kinsale. Mountjoy made preparations to receive them; and being reinforced by Levison with six hundred marines, posted his troops on an advantageous ground, through which the enemy would be obliged to pass; at the same time leaving some cavalry, to prevent a sally from d'Aquila and the Spanish garrison. Tyrone no sooner approached with a detachment of Spaniards and Irish, than being surprized to find the English so well posted, and ranged in excellent order, he sounded a retreat. Mountjoy gave orders to pursue them; and having thrown these advanced troops into disorder, he followed them to the main body, which he likewise attacked and put to flight, with the slaughter of twelve hundred men. Ocampo was taken prisoner; Tyrone fled into Ulster; O'Donnell escaped into Spain; and d'Aquila being reduced to the greatest extremity, was obliged to capitulate; and not only agreed to surrender Kinsale and Baltimore, but to leave the kingdom.

The trouble and expence to which the Spaniards had put Elizabeth, by this invasion of Ireland, made her resolve to give them employment at home; and the next year, 1602, she sent a squadron of nine ships, under the command of Sir Richard Levison, admiral, and Sir William Monson, vice-admiral, on an expedition to the coast of Spain. The admiral, with part of the squadron, fell in with the galleons, loaded with treasure, but was too weak

weak to attack them; and the vice-admiral also meeting with some rich ships, was obliged to let them escape for the same reason. However, these brave officers, unwilling to return without some success, resolved to attack the harbour of Cerimbra, in Portugal, where they were informed, that a rich carrac had taken shelter. The harbour, which was guarded by a castle, had eleven gallies stationed within it; and the militia of the country, amounting to about twenty thousand men, appeared in arms on the shore: yet, notwithstanding these and other obstacles, the English squadron entering the harbour, dismounted the guns of the castle, sunk, burned, or put to flight the gallies; and having obliged the carrac to surrender, brought her home to England, where she was valued at a million of ducats.

After the expulsion of the Spaniards, and the defeat of Tyrone, the Irish were able to make little resistance. Lord Mountjoy dividing his army into small parties, harassed the rebels on every side; and building many small forts, guarded all the important passes of the country. Sir Arthur Chichester, and Sir Henry Docwray, by their activity, allowed the rebels no repose, or place of security; whence many of the chieftains, after sculking for some time in woods and morasses, submitted to beg for mercy, and in 1603 Tyrone himself solicited to be received upon terms; but Mountjoy insisting that he should make an absolute surrender of his life and fortune to the mercy of the queen, he appeared before him at Mil-

lesfont, in a habit and posture suitable to his present condition; and having acknowledged his offence in the most humble terms, Mountjoy committed him to custody, in order to bring him to England, to be disposed of at the queen's pleasure.

Elizabeth, however, had now fallen into a profound melancholy, and was incapable of receiving any satisfaction from the success of her troops in Ireland. The reason of this state of mind had been long rejected by historians as romantic; but however improbable it may appear, has been confirmed by late discoveries*. The countess of Nottingham falling sick, and finding her end approaching, was seized with remorse for her past conduct, in occasioning the death of the earl of Essex; and having, at her desire, received a visit from Elizabeth, she earnestly begged her pardon, revealed to her the fatal secret, and presented the ring that princess had given to Essex, as a pledge of pardon. The queen was struck with astonishment and rage; and shaking the dying countess in her bed, cried, that God might pardon her, but she never could: then breaking from her, she gave herself up to a deep incurable melancholy. Rejecting all consolation, and refusing all sustenance, she threw herself on the floor, and remained sullen and immoveable; feeding only on her afflictions, and

* See a collection of proofs of this remarkable fact in Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. pag. 481, 505, 506, &c. and Negotiations, pag. 206.

declaring,

declaring, that life was an insufferable burthen. She uttered but few words, and these were all expressive of an inward grief, which she did not chuse to reveal: she gave vent to her despondency, only by her sighs and groans, which were unable to assuage her sorrow. Ten days and nights she lay upon the carpet, leaning on cushions brought her by her maids; and her physicians, by all their arguments, could not persuade her to allow herself to be put to bed, or to take any of the remedies they prescribed. At last, the distress of her mind preying on her body, her end visibly approached; when the council assembling, sent the chancellor, admiral, and secretary, to know her will, with respect to her successor. With a faint voice she answered, that as she had held the regal scepter, she desired a royal successor. Cecil entreating her, to explain herself more particularly, she added, that she would have a king to succeed her, and who should that be, but her nearest kinsman, the king of Scotland? The archbishop of Canterbury, who was present, then advised her to fix her thoughts upon God; she replied, that she did so, and that her mind did not in the least wander from him. Soon after she lost her voice; her senses failed; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which lasted some hours; and then gently expired, without struggle or convulsion, on the twenty-fourth of March, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. She had given orders, that her corpse should not be touched or seen by any one but her own women,

women, and this was complied with. It was conveyed from Richmond, where she died, to Whitehall; and was interred with great magnificence in Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster.

History affords but few persons who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies, and the applause of friends, than this queen; but posterity have placed her reputation in a true light; and in spite of religious animosities and political factions, have formed almost an uniform judgment, with respect to her character and conduct. She was tall, straight, and strong limbed; with a fair complexion, fine white teeth, and yellow hair; and having high cheek-bones, was fond of being painted without shade; so that all the pictures taken of her from the life appear flat. She had a shrill voice, but was sprightly and agreeable in conversation. She danced with great agility; understood music, and played upon several instruments. Her penetration, vigilance, vigour, address, steadiness and magnanimity, deserve the highest praises, and appear not to have been ever exceeded by any one who ever filled the throne. Her heroism was free from temerity; her active temper, from a vain ambition; her friendship, from partiality; and her frugality, from avarice.

Had she been less tenacious of her prerogatives, and not strained them to such a height, by sometimes tyrannizing over the parliament, and exerting the ridiculous prerogative of being

ing supreme head of the church, by which all were in danger of persecution, who could not conform to the form of religion she established, she would have been considered as the patron of civil and religious liberty.

Her œconomy was so remarkable, that the smallest expence, if it could possibly be saved, appeared considerable in her eyes; and even the charge of an express was not below her notice; yet she was so void of avarice, that she amassed no treasures, and even refused subsidies from parliament, when she had no present occasion for money. During that age, the splendor of a court was a great part of the public charge; and Elizabeth being a single woman, and expensive in no kind of magnificence, except in clothes, this enabled her to perform great things with her narrow revenue: for she is said to have paid a debt of four millions, left on the crown by her father, brother, and sister; an incredible sum for that age. She carried her state to the greatest height, and would permit no one to speak to her without kneeling. It must also be confessed, that she had some of the foibles which are indulged by the weakest of her sex; she gave way to the sallies of anger, the rivalry of beauty, a fondness for admiration, and the flattery of her person; so that when near seventy years of age, she listened with delight to the most fulsome praises of her beauty. Had she been less rigorous, less imperious, and been without these foibles, she would have been esteemed a perfect character.

Few

Few of the sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in a more difficult and dangerous season ; yet the government was never conducted with such uniform success and felicity. Hence pope Sixtus had such a particular esteem for her, that he placed her among the three persons, who alone, in his opinion, deserved to reign ; the others were himself, and Henry IV. of France. “ Your queen, said he to an Englishman, is born fortunate. She governs her kingdom with great happiness, and wants only to be married to me, to give the world a second Alexander.” Though the idea of religious liberty was, in that age, unknown, and though she was unacquainted with the advantage of granting a toleration, she, by her superior prudence, preserved her people from those confusions in which theological controversies, carried on with zeal and bigotry, had involved all the neighbouring nations. Her singular talents for government, were equally founded on her capacity and her temper ; and being endowed with a great command over herself, she soon obtained an uncontrouled ascendant over her people, whose esteem she merited by her virtues. Though her enemies were the most active, the most enterprising, and the least scrupulous princes of Europe, she was enabled, by her vigour, and the wisdom of her administration, to make a deep impression on their states ; while her own greatness remained untouched and unimpaired.

Her reign was adorned with the wisest ministers and the bravest warriors, who shared the
praise

praise of her success; but instead of lessening, they add to the applause which is her due. They all owed their advancement to her choice, and were supported by her constancy; and, with all their abilities, were never able to acquire an undue ascendant over her. Thus she constantly remained mistress in her family, in her court, and in her kingdom. On contemplating her as a woman, we are apt to be struck with the highest admiration at her extensive abilities and great qualities; but we are also apt to require more sweetness of disposition, more gentleness of manners, a greater lenity and mildness of temper, and more of those amiable weaknesses by which her sex is distinguished. But a more just method of forming an estimate of her merit, is to lay aside all these considerations, and to consider her merely as a rational being, entrusted with the government of a part of mankind; in which view, her magnanimity, her wisdom and steadiness, will entitle her to universal admiration. She had also one qualification yet unnoticed, and that is her extensive learning; for she understood Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, and Dutch. It is said, that the university of Cambridge having addressed her in Greek, she made an extemporary reply in that language; and it is certain, that she answered the Polish ambassador in Latin, without premeditation, and in a very spirited manner. She translated Boethius of the Consolation of Philosophy; Xenophon's Dialogue between Hiero and Simonides, and the Meditations of the queen of Navarre. She also wrote
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a Comment on Plato, and translated into Latin a Play of Euripides, and two of the Oration of Isocrates.

MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS.

Before the reign of Elizabeth, the king's of England had sometimes recourse to borrowing money of the city of Antwerp; when, besides paying ten or twelve per cent. interest, their credit was so low, that they were obliged to make the city of London join in the security: but that great and enterprizing merchant, Sir Thomas Gresham, engaged the company of merchant-adventurers to grant the queen a considerable loan; and she regularly paying the money, her credit, by degrees, became so established in the city, that she shook off this dependence on foreigners.

Queen Elizabeth divided a pound of silver into sixty-two shillings, instead of sixty, the former standard. This is the last alteration that has been made in England, with respect to the weight of the coin. The current money of the kingdom, in the end of this reign, is computed at four millions.

The spirit of this age was strongly bent on naval enterprizes; and besides the military expeditions against the Spaniards, the English made many attempts for new discoveries, and opened many new branches of foreign commerce. Sir Martin Frobisher undertook three fruitless voyages to discover a north-west passage to the East Indies. Davis, not discouraged by this ill success, made a new attempt,
in

in which he discovered the streights now called by his name. In the year 1600, Elizabeth granted the East India company their first patent; when their stock amounted to seventy-two thousand pounds. They fitted out, for this new branch of trade, four ships, commanded by James Lancaster; which returning with a rich cargo, encouraged the company to proceed. In this reign, two attempts were made to settle colonies in America; one by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland, another by Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia: but these did not, at first, prove successful, and the settlements were not made till the following reigns.

In 1569 Elizabeth obtained from the czar, John Basilides, an exclusive patent to the English for the whole trade of Muscovy; on which the English ventured farther into that extensive country, than any Europeans had done before them. They transported their goods along the Dwina, in canoes made of the trunk of a tree, which they towed, and rowed up the stream as far as Walogda; from whence they carried their commodities seven days journey by land to Yeraslau, and then down the Volga to Astracan, where they built ships, crossed the Caspian Sea, and distributed their manufactures into Persia: but were prevented from continuing this bold attempt, by the discouragements they met with. After the death of John Basilides, this patent was revoked by his son Theodore; and when the queen remonstrated against it, he told her ministers, that princes ought to carry an indifferent hand, both

between their subjects, and between foreigners ; and not convert trade, which ought to be common to all, into a monopoly for the private gain of a few. He, however, continued some privileges to the English, on account of their being the first who formed a communication between Europe and Muscovy.

About the year 1583, queen Elizabeth established the Turkish company ; for, before that time, the grand Signior had always conceived England to be a province subject to France ; but having heard of the queen's power and reputation, he gave a favourable reception to the English, and granted them larger privileges than he had given to the French.

In the beginning of this reign, the merchants of the Hanse-towns complained loudly of the treatment they had received in the reigns of Edward and Mary ; to which Elizabeth prudently answered, that she would make no alteration, but would protect them in the privileges they then possessed. As they were not satisfied with this answer, she soon after suspended for a time their commerce with England, to the great advantage of the English merchants, who took the whole trade into their own hands ; and their returns proving successful, they divided themselves into staplers and merchant-adventurers ; the former residing constantly at one place, and the other trading with cloth and other manufactures, to different states. The merchants of the Hanse-towns, enraged at their success, endeavoured to give other nations and states an ill opinion of the English

English merchants; and so far prevailed, as to obtain an imperial edict, by which the English were prohibited from trading with the empire: the queen, in return, kept sixty of their ships, which had been seized in the river Tagus, with contraband goods of the Spaniards. As Elizabeth was willing to compromise the differences between England and those trading cities, she intended to have restored these ships; but being informed, that a general assembly was held at Lubeck, in order to concert measures for distressing the trade of England, she caused the ships and cargoes to be confiscated, releasing only two of them to carry home the news, and to inform those states, that she looked upon their proceedings with the utmost contempt. In a remonstrance of the Hanse-towns to the diet of the empire, in 1582, it is affirmed, that England annually exported about two hundred thousand pieces of cloth.

In the third year of queen Elizabeth's reign, she was presented, by her silkwoman, with a pair of black silk knit stockings; with which, doctor Howell says, she was so pleased, that she never wore cloth hose any more.

About the year 1580, the use of coaches was introduced into England by the earl of Arundel. Before that time, the queen, on public occasions, rode on horseback, generally behind her chamberlain.

In the fifth year of this reign, was enacted the first law for the relief of the poor.

The nobility still supported, in some degree, the ancient magnificence, and the number of their servants; but the queen thought it prudent to retrench, by proclamation, their expences in this last particular. She, however, encouraged hospitality, by the frequent visits she paid her nobility. Burleigh, though he was thought frugal, and had no paternal estate, had a hundred servants in his family. He had a standing table for gentlemen, and two other tables for persons of meaner rank; which were always served alike, whether he was in the town or in the country. About his person, he had people of great distinction; and no less than twenty gentlemen, each of whom was worth a thousand pounds a year. He several times entertained the queen at his country-house, where she stayed three, four, or five weeks at a time. The quantity of silver plate possessed by this nobleman was amazing; it amounted to fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds weight; which, besides the fashion, must have been worth above forty thousand pounds; yet he left only four thousand pounds a year in land, and eleven thousand pounds in money; and land being then usually sold at ten years purchase, the value of his plate was nearly equal to all the rest of his fortune.

The nobility in this reign acquired, by degrees, a taste for elegance and splendor; and many sumptuous edifices were built, to the great ornament of the kingdom; and to the promotion of arts and industry.

In 1567 there were four thousand eight hundred and fifty-one foreigners in London, of whom three thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight were Flemings, and only fifty-eight Scots. Afterwards the persecutions in France and the Netherlands, drove a great number of foreigners into England, who greatly improved the manufactures and commerce of the kingdom. It was then that Sir Thomas Gresham built that magnificent structure the Exchange, for the reception of merchants, which the queen visited, and gave it the name of the Royal Exchange*.

In this reign flourished those celebrated poets Spencer, Shakespear, and Ben. Jonson.

Spencer was born in London; and after his studying in Cambridge, took up his residence with some friends in the north, where he fell in love with his Rosalind, whom he so finely celebrates in his pastorals, and of whose cruelty he has written such pathetic complaints. He was patronized by Sir Philip Sidney, who was charmed with reading a part of his poem called *The Fairy Queen*. He was afterwards created poet laureat to queen Elizabeth. He at length became secretary to the lord Gray of Wilton, on that nobleman's being appointed lord deputy of Ireland; after which he was rewarded by a grant from queen Elizabeth of three thousand acres of land, in the county of Cork. In this retirement he finished his *Fairy*

* This structure was burned by the fire of London, and the present edifice was erected soon after.

Queen, and became a more successful lover; for the collection of his sonnets are a kind of history of the progress of a new amour which ended in marriage. He was here visited by Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1589, who brought him with him to England, and introduced him to the queen; but in the Irish rebellion he was plundered, and deprived of his possessions. He died in 1598, and was interred in Westminster abbey, where his obsequies were attended by the poets of that time. The *Fairy Queen*, the most celebrated of his works, contains great beauties, a sweet and harmonious versification, and a fine flow of imagination; yet the perusal of it becomes tedious, and it requires some resolution to carry us on to the end of that long performance.

William Shakespeare was the son of John Shakespeare, a considerable dealer in wool; and was born at Stratford upon Avon, in April 1564. He was educated at a free grammar-school; after which he assisted his father in his business, till falling into bad company, he was several times engaged in the practice of stealing deer; for which, being prosecuted, he fled to London, where, being without money or friends, he supported himself by taking care of the horses of the gentlemen who came to the play; for coaches not being then in use, gentlemen rode to the play-house on horseback. Being there distinguished by his diligence, he was taken notice of by the players, who being pleased with his conversation, admitted him, in a low station, into the house; when his admirable

rable wit soon distinguished him, and he became an actor, a manager, and an excellent writer for the stage. He was highly esteemed by queen Elizabeth, who had several of his plays acted before her; and was so pleased with the admirable character of Falstaff, in the two parts of Henry IV. that she ordered him to continue it in another play, and to make him in love, which is said to have occasioned his writing the Merry Wives of Windsor. He also obtained the friendship and favour of the earl of Southampton, who gave him a thousand pounds to enable him to complete a purchase, which he heard he had a mind to. The latter part of his life was spent in ease, retirement, and the conversation of his friends. He had an estate equal to his wishes; and is said to have spent some years, before his death, at his native town, where his wit and good temper engaged him in the acquaintance of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood. He died in 1616, in the fifty-third year of his age. If he be considered as a man born in a rude age, and educated in a low manner, without much instruction, either from the world or from books, he must be considered as a prodigy. He abounds with animating and passionate scenes, filled with nervous and picturesque descriptions; he had a great and fertile genius, equally enriched with the tragic and comic vein. Hence he has been greatly admired by the English: but the absurdities with which his scenes are sometimes disfigured, with his ignorance of all theatrical art

art and conduct, render his plays much less pleasing to foreigners.

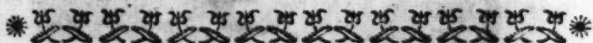
Ben. Jonson, the son of a clergyman, was born at Westminster in 1574, and educated at Westminster-school; from whence he was taken home by his mother, who had married a brick-layer for her second husband, who obliged him to work at his trade; but being extremely averse to it, he enlisted himself as a soldier, and was distinguished by his bravery in the wars of the Netherlands. Upon his return to England, he resumed his former studies, and was admitted into St. John's college Cambridge; but being unable to support himself there, he entered into an obscure play-house, called the Curtain; but was unable to gain any reputation as an actor. He there quarrelling with one of his brother comedians, fought a duel, in which he killed his antagonist; for which he was committed to prison, but was some time after discharged. At his first entrance into the play-house, he had written a play or two, which had been condemned. He offered another, which he put into the hands of a person who carelessly run it over, and was ready to return it with a disagreeable answer, when Shakespeare casting his eye upon it, was so pleased with it, that he brought it upon his own stage, where he was the manager, and acted a part in it himself. Shakespeare ever after continued to recommend Jonson and his productions to the public; lent his hand in finishing some of them, and played a part in every play wrote by Jonson, as long as he continued on the stage.

He

He was afterwards poet laureat to James I. and Charles I. He wrote several other pieces, which are printed with his plays, in seven volumes octavo, and died on the sixteenth of August 1637, in the sixty-third year of his age. Jonson possessed all the learning which was wanting to Shakespeare, and wanted the genius of which Shakespeare was possessed.

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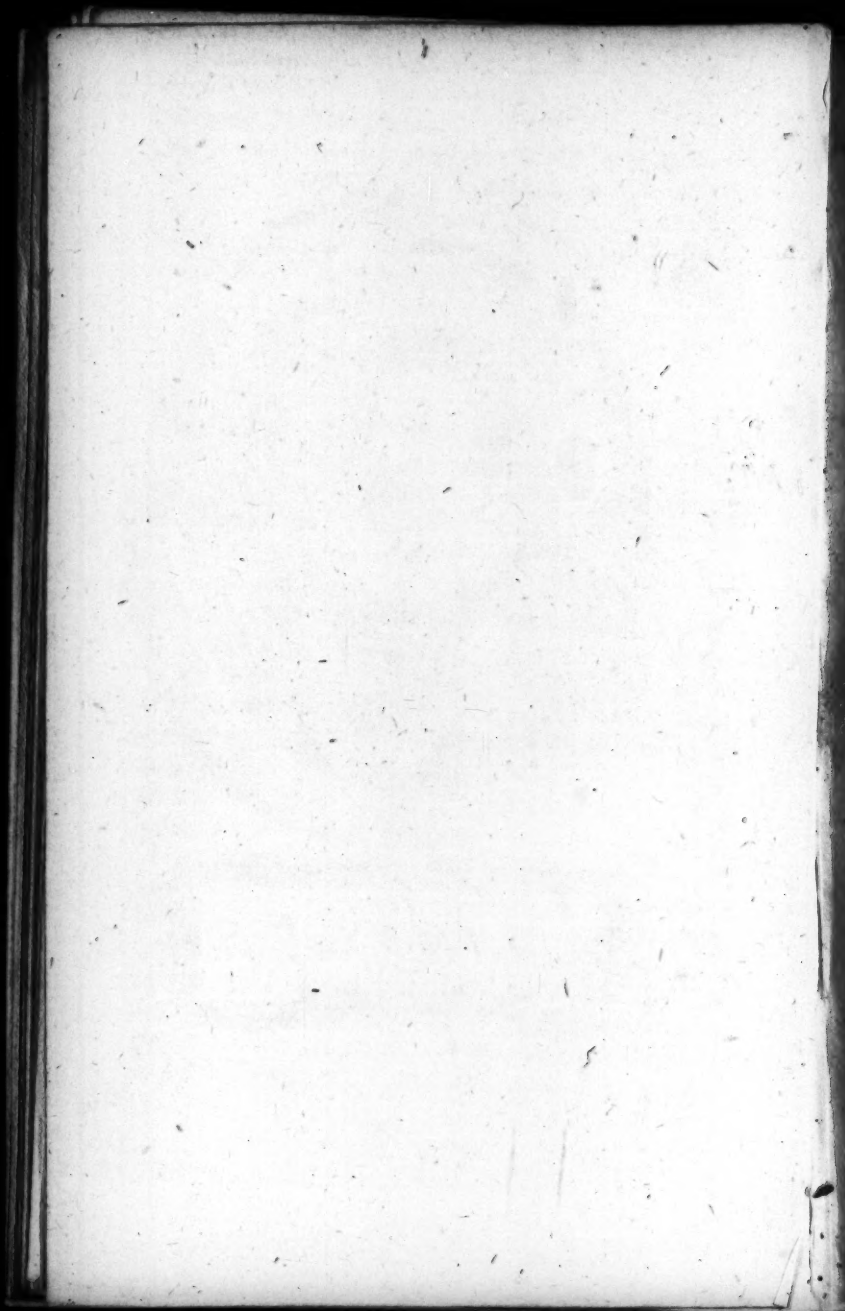
BOOK VI.

From the Union of the Crowns of
England and Scotland to the Re-
storation.

JAMES I.

*His Journey to London, and first Transactions.
A supposed Conspiracy. A Conference with
the Puritans. The House of Commons struggle
in vain for the Redress of Grievances. The
Gunpowder Treason. A Truce between Spain
and the United Provinces. Farther struggles
between the King and the Parliament. The
King's Zeal against Arminianism. Regula-
tions*





tions in Ireland. The Death of Prince Henry. The Princess Elizabeth married to the Elector Palatine. The Rise and Fall of Somerset, with the Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. The Rise of Buckingham. Cautionary Towns delivered up. Affairs of Scotland. Sir Walter Raleigh's Expedition, and fatal End. The Prince Palatine elected King of Bohemia. That Kingdom invaded, and the loss of the Palatinate. The fall of Bacon. The electoral Dignity transferred from Prince Frederick to the Duke of Bavaria. The Prince of Wales's Journey to Madrid. A Rupture with Spain. Treaty of Marriage with France. Mansfeldt's Expedition. The Massacre of the English at Amboyna. The King's Death and Character. Miscellaneous Incidents.

WE are now entering upon the reigns of the Stuarts, in which violent struggles were made by the people for the recovery of their civil liberty, from the incroachments, and unjustly assumed prerogatives, of many preceding princes. We have seen the first Great Charter of civil liberty expressly established in the reign of king Henry I. from the memory of old men, acquainted with the ancient privileges of the nobility and people, and who were assembled by the nobles for that purpose. We have seen that charter revived, and frequently confirmed and violated by king John; and afterwards freely established, without compulsion, by Edward I. In short, we have seen Edward III. after violating it in some instances
of

of his own accord, conform to this sacred bond of civil liberty, and thus secure the happiness of his subjects, and become the father of an affectionate people. Most of the subsequent princes, and more particularly the Tudors, paid little regard to this great barrier between the king and the people: the Stuarts resolved to follow their example, and even exceeded every former sovereign of England in their pretensions to an unbounded arbitrary power: but many circumstances concurred to limit their ambition. Arts, industry, and a taste for the elegancies of life had encreased. Learning, which, in the late reigns, had been chiefly confined to the great and to the clergy, was now become more general, and this, with the advantage of printing, diffused knowledge and a spirit of freedom, while an encrease of commerce created independence, and threw the balance of property into the hands of the commons, who thus enlightened, and thus strengthened, now resolved to reclaim their ancient privileges, and to secure the enjoyment of liberty by firmer barriers than had hitherto been provided by their ancestors.

Never was the crown of England transmitted with greater tranquility, than it passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart. James was the great grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry the Seventh; and on the failure of the male-line, his hereditary right remained unquestioned. As the people had long considered him as the successor of Elizabeth, he was proclaimed six hours after the decease

cease of that princess. The people were filled with the utmost impatience to behold their new sovereign; and their sovereign was no less impatient to take possession of his new dignity. He therefore immediately prepared for his journey from Edinburgh to London; and having left a commission with the Scottish council, for the administration of affairs in that kingdom, he set out from Edinburgh on the fifth of April 1603. The people, in general, expressed the utmost joy; but the concourse of those whom idleness, curiosity, and interest, had brought together, gave him such offence during his progress, that he issued a proclamation, forbidding such a tumultuous resort; and this the people did not fail to compare with the affability and popular manners, displayed by the late queen, amidst the concourse and exultation of her subjects. His ignorance of the laws of England, and the high idea he had entertained of his present power, made him, upon his arrival at Newark, guilty of the absurd violence of ordering a thief to be hanged without form of trial. Soon after, his severity was exercised on Valentine Thomas, of whom he had complained to Elizabeth, that he had calumniated his conduct. He found this unfortunate man imprisoned for this supposed crime, and immediately after his succession, brought him to his trial, and had him condemned, under the pretence of a conspiracy against Elizabeth, and some of her council.

Notwithstanding his thus exerting his royalty in these ungracious actions, he ran into a

contrary extreme; and in six weeks time after his entrance into the kingdom, bestowed the honour of knighthood on no less than two hundred and thirty seven persons. Elizabeth's reserve and caution in bestowing of honours, had formerly been repined at; but her frugality in this respect began now to be esteemed; for in a little time, titles of all kinds became so common, that they were scarcely marks of distinction.

James dissatisfied the English, by bestowing these honours on his Scottish subjects; many of whom he brought with him, and their impatience and importunity extorted favours from him, of which, if he had any degree of political prudence, he must have foreseen, that his English subjects would complain. The duke of Lenox, the earl of Marre, lord Kinloss, lord Hume, Sir George Hume, and secretary Elphinstone, were immediately added to the English privy-council. Sir George Hume, one of the wisest and most virtuous of his favourites, was created earl of Dunbar. Some time after, Hay was created viscount Doncaster, then earl of Carlisle. Ramsay was made earl of Holderness; and many others being suddenly raised to the highest honours, by their insolence, encreased the envy which naturally attended them as strangers.

James, however, left most of the principal offices in the hands of Elizabeth's minister's; and entrusted both foreign and domestic affairs to his English subjects. His prime-minister, and chief councillor, was secretary Cecil, whom

whom he successively created lord Esslindon, viscount Cranborne, and earl of Salisbury. This gave the greater surprize, as he was the son of the lord Burleigh, who had been the declared enemy of his mother, and the principal cause of her death: but this artful courtier had ingratiated himself with the king, by carrying on a secret correspondence with him during the latter years of Elizabeth's life. Very different was the fate of Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been closely connected with Cecil in opposing Essex, whom James considered as a zealous partizan of the succession in the house of Stuart.

Among those courtiers who were most dissatisfied with the change of royal favour were Raleigh, and the lords Gray and Cobham, who were so indiscreet, that a kind of conspiracy, for setting Arabella Stuart, the king's cousin-german, upon the throne, was charged against them, in conjunction with Aremberg, the Flemish ambassador, and the three following English commoners, Sir Griffith Markham, Anthony Copley, and George Brooke, the lord Cobham's brother. The grounds of their accusation, were some bold imprudent words spoken in the height of resentment; and this ended in the condemnation of all the accused; though Sir Walter Raleigh could not be brought in guilty without the violation of every essential law in the constitution; there being no other evidence against him, besides a letter signed by lord Cobham, who afterwards declared, that his name to that letter was fraudulently obtained. In this cause Sir Edward Coke, then at-

torney-general, in pleading for the crown, threw out the greatest abuse on Raleigh, bestowing on him the epithets of traitor, monster, viper, and spider of hell; while that great man defended himself with temper, eloquence, and courage. To all but Brooke, the sentence of death was mitigated to imprisonment; but the warrant of reprieve was not produced till the lords Cobham and Grey, and Sir Griffith Markham, had laid their heads upon the block. Watson and Clerk, two priests, were convicted of being accomplices in this conspiracy, and executed.

James was distinguished by a pedantic disposition, which he had acquired from a narrow, though laborious, education; for he had obtained some school-learning, the fruits of that unwearied application, which is often united to mean abilities. Of this learning he was ridiculously vain, and was eager for an opportunity of displaying it to the whole nation. This was afforded him by a petition from seven hundred and fifty clergymen, for the reformation of several articles in the established church. The king gave them hopes of an impartial debate, though he had an extreme aversion to all reformers, on account of the restraints they had laid upon him in his Scottish government; restraints entirely incompatible with the high idea he had entertained of monarchical power. In this debate, James was to preside as judge; and the assembly being met at Hampton-court, the king, from being judge, turned principal disputant; silencing all opposition, by his authority

thority and loquacity. James closed his arguments with these powerful ones, " If you aim
 " at Scottish presbytery, it agrees as well with
 " monarchy, as God and the Devil. There
 " Jack and Tom, and Will, and Dick, shall
 " meet to censure me and my council. There-
 " fore, I reiterate my former speech: *Le Roi*
 " *s'avisera*. Stay, I pray ye, for one seven
 " years before you demand; and then, if you
 " find me grow purisy and fat, I may per-
 " chance hearken unto you." The clergy
 were obliged to acquiesce with no other con-
 viction, than of their being mistaken in the
 hopes they had formed from his education.
 The churchmen and courtiers shewed great ex-
 ultation and adulation on this occasion. Chan-
 cellor Egerton exclaimed, that he had often
 heard of royalty and priesthood being united,
 but never saw it verified till now; and archbi-
 shop Whitgift, carrying his flattery still farther,
 said, he verily believed the king spoke by the
 special assistance of the Spirit of God.

This decision was followed by two proclama-
 tions; one commanding all the jesuits and
 priests, who had received orders from any fo-
 reign power, to depart the kingdom; and the
 other, enjoining the puritans to conform to the
 established church. The latter, soon after, suf-
 fered so severe a persecution, that they offered
 a petition to the king for relief while he was
 hunting; when, being startled at this unex-
 pected intrusion, he directed them to depute
 ten of their members, to lay their grievances
 before the council: but no sooner did these de-

puties make this application, than they were sent to prison; and Sir Francis Hastings, Sir Valentine Knightly, and Sir Edward Montague, under whose protection they had taken this step, were turned out of the lieutenancy of the county, and the commission of the peace.

James, now surrounded with flatterers, snuffed up the incense of his own praise. He was extolled as the Solomon of the age, and was the first king of England, flattered with the absurd title of Sacred Majesty. He indulged his fondness for idleness, while he enjoyed the reputation of business; and affected to decide, by his own judgment, all religious and civil affairs; yet devoted his whole time to amusement; spending his days in hunting, or idle compositions, and his evenings in all the variety of entertainments which the ingenuity of his queen could procure him.

The king next displayed his learning and eloquence before the parliament, which assembled on the ninth of March 1604, it being so long delayed on account of the plague, which had broken out in London, and raged to such a degree, that above thirty thousand persons are said to have died of it in a year; though, at that time, the city contained only about a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants.

The king, in his speech at the opening of the parliament, fully displayed his character. After having expatiated on the right he had attained from his title, he expressed his satisfaction at the cordial reception he had received on his first entry into his new kingdom.

“ Shall

“ Shall it ever be blotted out of my mind,
 “ said he, how, at my first entry, the people
 “ of all sorts rid and ran; nay, rather flew
 “ to meet me: their eyes flaming nothing but
 “ sparkles of affection; their mouths and
 “ tongues uttering nothing but sounds of joy;
 “ their hands, feet, and all the rest of their
 “ members in their gestures, discovering a pas-
 “ sionate longing and eagerness to meet and
 “ embrace their new sovereign*.” He then
 expatiated on the manifold blessings England
 had received in his person; which would com-
 plete their happiness, if the two nations were
 united in one kingdom. He observed, that he
 was the husband, and the whole island his law-
 ful wife, and hoped none would be so unrea-
 sonable, as to think a Christian king should
 be a polygamist, and husband to two wives.
 He acknowledged the Roman Catholic to be
 the mother church, though defiled with some
 impurities; and that he was considering to
 lighten the burthen of laws against them; but
 as to the sects of Puritans and Novelists, being
 impatient of superiority, they were insuffer-
 able in any well-governed commonwealth.

This speech, which was extremely prolix,
 dissatisfied every body. Both the Roman Ca-
 tholics and the Puritans were offended, and
 the whole nation displeased at the hints he
 threw out of an union with Scotland.

After the parliament had confirmed his title,
 a motion was made for the redress of the fol-

* Journals of the Commons, vol. i. pag. 142.

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lowing grievances. The wardships of children; the abuse of purveyors, and of monopolies; dispensations in penal statutes; the exportation of ordnance, and the abuses of the exchequer. In a conference with the lords, on a proposal to petition the king for leave to take into consideration their giving him a recompence in exchange for wardships, the lords heartily joined in the cause, and recommended their comprizing in the petition, licence of alienation, respite of homage, and other intolerable burthens, which had been obtained by stretching the prerogative.

These spirited exertions were, however, rendered useless, by an incident which disturbed the concord now subsisting between the two houses. One of the prohibitions in the king's proclamation for assembling a parliament, was, that no out-law should be returned. Sir Francis Goodwin had been chosen member for the county of Bucks, and his return, as usual, was made into chancery; but the chancellor pronouncing him an out-law, vacated his seat, issued writs for a new election, and the county chose Sir John Fortescue in his room. The first act of the house was to reverse the chancellor's sentence, and restore Sir Francis to his seat. On which the lords, by the king's desire, demanded a conference on this subject; but this the commons refused, as the question related solely to their own privileges. They however, agreed, that their speaker should remonstrate to the king, that though the returns were made by form into chancery, the sole right
of

of judging, with respect to elections, belonged to the house alone. James, not satisfied, ordered a conference between the house and the judges, which, he said, he commanded as an *absolute king*; adding, that *all their privileges were derived from his grant, and he hoped they would not turn them against him.* This opened the eyes of the commons, who now saw the consequences of the power assumed by the chancellor, to which their predecessors had, in some instances, blindly submitted. The commons accordingly appointed a committee to confer with the judges before the king and council; there the question of law beginning to appear in James's eyes, more doubtful than he had hitherto imagined it, he proposed, that Goodwin and Fortescue should be both set aside; and a writ be issued by a warrant of the house for a new election. To this Goodwin consented, and the commons embraced the expedient; which at once shewed their regard for the king, and secured the right they claimed of being the sole judges in their own elections and returns. A power so essential to public liberty, that it cannot be esteemed an encroachment of the commons, but as a privilege rescued from the ambiguity thrown upon it, by the negligence of some former parliaments.

Sir Francis Bacon, one of the committee, gave the commons an account of the conference in the following strain, of profane flattery of this vain monarch: the king himself, said he, would be president. His attendance re-
newed

newed the remembrance of the last, when we departed with such admiration. It was the voice of God in man; the good spirit of God in the mouth of man. We might say, as was said to Solomon, we are glad, O king! that we give account to thee, because thou discernest what is spoken.

The attention of the parliament was next taken up, by a proposal for an union between the two kingdoms; on which James was so hotly bent, that he had already assumed the title of king of Great Britain; quartered St. Andrew's cross with St. George's; issued a proclamation, to make the coin of Scotland current in England; and to give a general idea of the peace that would flow from it, the iron-gates of the frontier towns were converted into plow-shares. This scheme the parliament took into consideration rather out of compliment to the king, than with any design to bring it into execution; and at length there were appointed forty-four English commissioners, who were to meet with thirty-one of Scotland, to deliberate concerning the terms; but they had not the power to make any advances towards a final establishment. The commons were, at this time, warmly set on the redress of grievances; but the gleam of public virtue, which appeared in the lords at the beginning of the session, was now entirely vanished. The commons being thus foiled in all their intentions for the public good, were determined that the people should not be robbed, to feed the avarice and luxury of the courtiers; and so vehemently opposed

posed a subsidy being granted to the king, that he sent to desire the house to lay it aside, and to inform them, that he desired no supply.

In this parliament, the commons demanded the delivery of Sir Thomas Shirley, one of their members, who had been committed to the Fleet; and punished the warden for contempt of the house, in having at first refused to release his prisoner. Thus the commons established their power of punishing both the person at whose suit any member is arrested, and the officers who either arrest or detain them.

The king, on his accession to the throne, had concluded a treaty with Rosni*, the French ambassador, in which he agreed secretly to support the states-general, in concert with the king of France, lest their weakness and despair should oblige them to submit again to Spain; and now a treaty of peace was concluded between Spain and England; one of the articles of which was, that James should fix a day, before the expiration of which, the states should agree to a peace, and in case of their refusal, he should deem himself absolved from his former engagements. It is remarkable, that in James's proclamation, he plainly supposes, that as he had himself, while king of Scotland, always lived in friendship with Spain, peace was attached to his person; and that merely by his accession to the crown of England, without any articles of agreement, he had ended the war between the two kingdoms.

* Afterwards the duke of Sully.

We

We now come to an event, which shews how far the human mind may be drawn from the obligations of humanity, by the strength of religious prejudices. The Papists had expected great favour from James, on his accession; both as they imagined, that his mother's life had been sacrificed to their cause, and as he himself had early shewn some regard to them, which they thought nothing but interest and necessity had since restrained: but they soon discovered their mistake, and were filled with surprize and rage, at finding that he permitted the laws enacted against them to be put in execution. Catesby, a gentleman of an ancient family, first entertained the thought of a very extraordinary method of revenge; and in one of his conversations with Piercy, a descendant of the house of Northumberland, on the distressed condition of the Catholics, opened his intention. Piercy, in a fally of passion, mentioned assassinating the king; on which Catesby cried, " In vain would you put an end to the
 " king's life: his children would succeed both
 " to his crown, and to his maxims of govern-
 " ment. In vain would you extinguish the
 " whole royal family: the nobility, the gen-
 " try, the parliament, are all infected with
 " the same heresy, and could present the crown
 " to another prince, and another family, who,
 " besides their hatred to our religion, would
 " be animated with revenge for the tragical
 " death of their predecessors. To answer any
 " good purpose, we must at one blow destroy
 " the king, the royal family, the lords, the
 " commons,

“ commons, and involve all our enemies in
 “ one common ruin. Happily they will all
 “ be assembled on the first meeting of the par-
 “ liament, and afford us the opportunity of a
 “ glorious revenge. Great preparations will
 “ not be necessary. A few of us may run a
 “ line below the hall in which they meet;
 “ and chusing the very moment when the king
 “ makes his speech to both houses, consign
 “ over to destruction these determined foes to
 “ all piety and religion. Mean while we our-
 “ selves, standing aloof, safe and unsuspected,
 “ shall triumph in being the instruments of
 “ divine wrath, and behold with pleasure those
 “ sacrilegious walls, in which were passed the
 “ edicts for proscribing our church, and but-
 “ chering her children, tossed into a thousand
 “ fragments; while their impious inhabitants,
 “ meditating, perhaps, still new persecutions
 “ against us, pass from flames above to flames
 “ below, there for ever to endure the torments
 “ due to their crimes*.”

This project charmed Piercy; and he and
 Catesby agreed to communicate it to a few
 more, and particularly to Thomas Winter,
 whom they sent into Flanders to bring over
 Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with
 whose zeal and courage they were well ac-
 quainted. On their enlisting any new conspi-
 rator, they always bound him to secrecy, both
 by an oath and the eucharist, the most sacred
 rite of their religion. It is remarkable, that

* Hume's history of the gunpowder treason.

none of them entertained the least compunction, with respect to this cruel massacre, of all the great and eminent men in the nation. Some of them were, however, startled at the reflection, that many Catholics would be present as spectators, or attendants on the king, or as having seats in the house of peers: but these scruples were removed by Tesmond, a Jesuit, and Garnet, superior of that order in England, who told them, that it was for the interest of religion, that here the innocent should suffer with the guilty.

This passed in the spring and summer of 1604; when a house was also hired by the conspirators, in Piercy's name, adjoining to the house of lords. They began their operation towards the end of that year; and to prevent suspicion, laid in store of provisions, and never desisted from their labour. They soon pierced through the wall, though three yards in thickness; but on their approaching the other side, they were startled at hearing a noise, which they were at a loss to account for. Upon enquiry, they found it proceeded from the vault below the house of lords; that a quantity of coals had been kept there, and as they were selling off, the vault would be let to the highest bidder. They immediately seized this opportunity; Piercy hired the vault, lodged thirty-six barrels of powder in it; the whole was covered with faggots and billets, the cellar-door boldly flung open, and any body admitted, as if nothing dangerous was to be found there.

Being

Being now confident of success, they planned the remaining part of their project. James, his queen, and prince Henry, were all expected to be present at the opening of the parliament. The duke, on account of his tender age, would be absent; and it was agreed, that Piercy should seize or assassinate him. The princess Elizabeth, who was also a child, was at lord Harrington's, in Warwickshire; but Sir Everard Digby, Rookwood, and Grant, engaged to assemble their friends, under the pretence of a hunting match; and after seizing that princess, to proclaim her queen. So charmed were they with this prospect of revenge, that they forgot all care of their own safety, and flattered themselves, that they should escape in the general confusion, which must follow so unexpected a blow.

The long wished-for day, appointed for the meeting of the parliament, now approached; and the dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been kept almost a year and a half. No pity, no remorse, and no fear of punishment, had yet prevailed on any conspirator, to discover the enterprize. Every other motive was extinguished by their flaming zeal, and the nation was at last saved by an indiscretion.

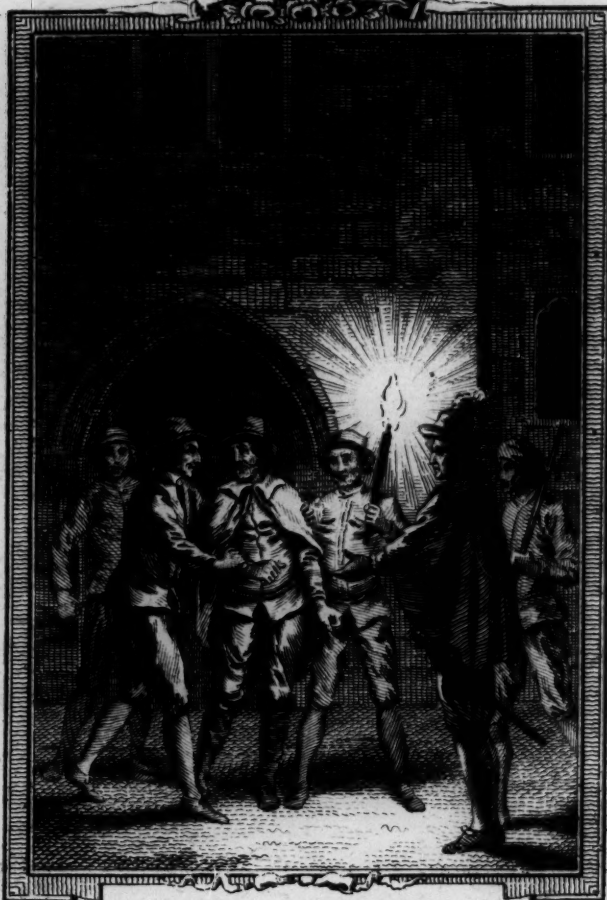
The parliament was to meet within ten days, when lord Monteagle, a Catholic, the son of lord Morley, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his servant, by an unknown hand. " My lord, out of the love
" I bear to some of your friends, I have a care

“of your preservation. Therefore I would
 “advise you, as you tender your life, to de-
 “vise some excuse to shift off your attendance
 “at this parliament. For God and man have
 “concurred to punish the wickedness of this
 “time. And think not slightly of this ad-
 “vertisement; but retire yourself into your
 “country, where you may expect the event
 “in safety. For though there be no appear-
 “ance of any stir, yet, I say, they will re-
 “ceive a terrible blow this parliament, and
 “yet they shall not see who hurts them. This
 “counsel is not to be contemned, because it
 “may do you good, and can do you no harm :
 “for the danger is past as soon as you have
 “burned the letter. And I hope God will
 “give you the grace to make good use of it,
 “to whose holy protection I commend you.”

Lord Monteaule was at a loss what to think
 of this letter, and was inclined to imagine it
 a foolish attempt to frighten and ridicule him :
 he, however, judged it most safe to carry it to
 lord Salisbury, secretary of state. That no-
 bleman was also inclined to pay little attention
 to it ; but shewed it to the king, who came to
 town a few days after. James, however, con-
 sidered it in a different light* ; and from the

* Cecil acknowledges, in a letter to Cornwallis,
 that the whole affair was discovered before the letter
 was communicated to the king. See *Winwood's*
Memorials, vol. ii. pag. 172. James, however,
 assumed the merit of the discovery, as owing to his
 penetration, on reading the above letter.

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J. Wale del.

Collyer sc.

Guy Fawkes seized.

Published as the Act directs, 1 Sep. 1774 by J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Y.^d

serious and earnest stile of the letter, conjectured, that something important and dangerous was in agitation. A terrible *blow*, so sudden and so great, with the *authors concealed*, seemed to denote some contrivance by gunpowder; and it was thought advisable, to search all the vaults under the houses of parliament. This office belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, who purposely deferred the search till the day before the meeting of parliament. He observed the great piles of wood and faggots in the vault under the upper house, and cast his eye upon Fawkes, who stood in a dark corner, and said, he was Piercy's servant. The daring courage, which distinguished that conspirator, was fully painted in his countenance, and did not pass unnoticed by Suffolk. It appeared a little extraordinary, that Piercy, who lived so little in town, should have here such a quantity of fuel; and upon his comparing all circumstances, it was resolved to make a more thorough search. About midnight Sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of peace, was sent with proper attendants; and finding, before the door of the vault, Fawkes, who had just finished all his preparations, he instantly seized him, and causing the faggots to be removed, discovered the powder; while the matches, and every thing proper for setting fire to the train, were found in Fawkes's pocket; who now finding his guilt discovered, expressed the utmost regret, at his having lost the opportunity of firing the powder, and at once destroying both his enemies and himself. He

displayed the same intrepid firmness before the council, but it was mixed with scorn and disdain; and seeming only concerned for the failure of the enterprize, refused to discover his accomplices. But after being confined two or three days in the Tower, without company, his courage forsook him; and on his being just shewn the rack, he made a full discovery of all the conspirators.

Piercy, Catesby, and the other criminals, who were in London, though they had heard of the chamberlain's search, had not abandoned their hopes of success; but hearing, at last, that Fawkes was seized, they hastened down into Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby being persuaded, that his confederates were successful, was already in arms, in order to seize the princess Elizabeth. She had escaped to Coventry, and they were obliged to defend themselves against the county, who were raised and armed by the sheriff. The conspirators, with all their attendants, did not exceed eighty persons; and being surrounded on all sides, had no longer hopes either of prevailing or escaping. Having therefore confessed, and received absolution, they resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible; but they were even denied this miserable consolation. Some of their powder taking fire, they were incapable of making much defence; and the people rushing in upon them, Piercy and Catesby were killed with one shot. Digby, Winter, Rookwood, and others, being taken prisoners, were tried, confessed their guilt, and died, as
did

did also Garnet, by the hands of the executioner. Digby, in a letter to his wife, after his condemnation, said, "If I had thought there had been the least sin in the plot, I would not have been of it for the world; and no other cause drew me to hazard my fortune and life, but zeal to God's religion." He there also expresses his surprize at hearing, that any Catholics had condemned it. The bigotted Papists were so devoted to Garnet, that they fancied miracles were wrought by his blood, and in Spain he was considered as a martyr. It is remarkable, that before this audacious attempt, the conduct of these conspirators seems, in general, to have been liable to no reproach.

The earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thousand pounds, and confined several years in the Tower, on some grounds of suspicion, and particularly his having admitted Piercy into the number of gentlemen pensioners, without his having taken the requisite oaths. The lords Mordaunt and Stourton, two Catholics, whose absence from parliament had created a suspicion of their being made acquainted with the conspiracy, were fined by the star-chamber, the former ten thousand pounds, and the latter four thousand. On the other hand, the lord Monteagle was rewarded with an estate of two hundred pounds a year, and a pension of five hundred pounds.

The king, in his speech to the parliament, which met on the ninth of November, observed, that though religion had engaged the conspirators in so criminal an attempt, yet we ought

ought not to involve all the Roman Catholics in the same guilt; or suppose them equally disposed to commit such enormous acts of barbarity; and observed, that he detested the cruelty of the Puritans, and thought them worthy of fire, who would admit no salvation to the Catholics. He then charges them not to think that any foreign princes had a hand in the plot, but to speak and think of them reverently; and concludes with instructing the parliament, that they were not to busy themselves in proposing new laws, but to consult on those proposed by their king. After this speech, which was drawn to a great length, he prorogued the parliament till the twenty-second of January 1606.

Though the king's speech was much applauded by the courtiers, the generality of the people were offended at the tenderness he shewed to the Catholics, and looked with horror and resentment on the uncharitable condemnation of the Puritans to fire, for an opinion which had no relation to the state. But James was, at this time, cajoled by Spain, with the hopes of a family alliance, attended with these flattering conditions: that he was to be made the arbiter of all the religious differences in Europe; that a large part of Flanders, and an annual pension of a million of ducats, were to be the portion of the infanta; and that he was to assist Spain against the Seven United Provinces. Hence proceeded the tenderness he expressed for the Catholics: hence his charge to the commons to think and speak reverently of foreign princes; hence proceeded many proclamations

clamations to prevent the public from suspecting, that the conspirators had been promised assistance from such powers.

On the meeting of the parliament, the heinousness of the late conspiracy engaged the attention of both houses; the result of which was, an act which ordained an annual thanksgiving on the fifth of November; an act for discovering and repressing Popish recusants; and another to prevent dangers that may arise from Popish recusants; and these statutes are still in force.

The business of a supply, in which three subsidies and six fifteenths were required, brought on the demand for the redress of grievances, which was thought necessary to precede so large a grant: but while the house was debating upon these, the whole town was thrown into confusion, by a report of the king's being murdered at Oking. The citizens were put under arms, and the frightened members sent message after message to the council, to know the truth; but in some hours James sent word, that he intended to be in London that day. While the minds of men were agitated by this double surprize, the courtiers pushed the supply so warmly, that they carried the motion; and the next day, when some of the members moved, that it should not pass till the heavy grievances of the nation were redressed; this was over-ruled by the courtiers, and the bill being sent up to the house of lords, met with a quick and easy ascent.

A vi-

A visit which James received from the king of Denmark and prince Vaudemont, another of the queen's relations, helped to dissipate the large grants which the king had just received. One continued round of magnificent shews and expensive amusements, dissipated reflection; private grievances were forgot in the enjoyment of public amusements; and the king's happiness would have been complete, could he have affected his favourite plan of an union with Scotland. The parliament being prorogued to the eighteenth of November, the king made a speech to that purpose. Sir Francis Bacon employed all his powers on the same subject; and, in order to soften the members, some trifling concessions were made, with respect to a few of the least important articles in the list of grievances that had been offered: but nothing could prevail over the determined resolution of the commons; and the only point determined, was an act for the utter abolition of all memory of the hostilities between the two nations; and for repressing occasions of discord for the time to come. The king, impatient at these delays, summoned the two houses to appear at Whitehall, where he strove to convince them of the advantages that would flow from the union; mentioned a proclamation he had made, by the opinion of the judges, to naturalize those of his Scots subjects who were born after his accession; and charged them not to disgrace either his proclamation or his judges; who, when the parliament broke up, had authority to try their lands and lives; but

but to think of his power, and not to tempt his patience. Yet notwithstanding all the king's rhetoric, the parliament were determined not to attempt the incorporation of the two nations, while the king's partiality, and the pretensions of the Scots, forbad all hopes of its being done on advantageous, or even equitable, terms.

The year 1609 is remarkable for the prevailing influence of liberty. Never contest seemed, at first, more unequal than that between Spain and the states of the United Provinces; and never was contest finished with more honour to the weakest side. On the part of Spain were numbers, riches, discipline, and authority: on that of the revolted provinces, were the attachment to liberty, and the enthusiasm of religion. The republic, from the smallest beginnings, had acquired amazing power; and having vanquished the forces of Spain in every quarter of the globe, obliged the Spaniards to yield up their arbitrary pretensions, and to declare the Dutch an independent state. Long had the pride of Spain struggled, before it would give up the point; but after a tedious negociation, a truce of twelve years was concluded, under the mediation of the kings of France and England; in which the king of Spain treated with them as a free people. Henry had offered his assistance, and James was complimented with the same distinction. Cecil, who acted for James, was, on the one hand, shackled by his master's fear of being involved in a war, by the king's coldness to the Dutch, whom he termed rebels, as well

well as by his fear of disoblighing Spain; and on the other hand, by the warm inclination of the English to assist the states. Influenced by these contrarieties, his conduct was so lukewarm, as to raise the jealousy of the Dutch, and the resentment of Spain. However, tho' the former were not assisted by the English with such vigour as they ought to have been, yet by their perseverance in not abandoning them, may be attributed the terms they obtained from Spain, and their being acknowledged a sovereign state by all other potentates.

The little concern which James took in foreign affairs, rendered the domestic occurrences, and particularly those of parliament, the most interesting of his reign. After several prorogations, the parliament met on the ninth of February 1610. The king's wants having been insufficiently supplied by an aid, exacted, on account of the knighthood of his son, and a loan of two hundred thousand pounds, extorted by flattery from the city of London, he was still in extreme necessity. Salisbury, therefore, after stating the debts of the crown, intimated the king's intention of creating his son Henry, who was a great favourite of the people, prince of Wales and earl of Chester. The separating from the crown the principality of Wales, which brought in the sum of fifty thousand pounds a year, was esteemed a good reason for demanding an addition to the royal revenue. In a conference between the two houses on this demand, Salisbury observed, that supplying James's wants was a mark of esteem,

esteem, which could not be denied to a prince, who was not only the wisest of kings, but the very image of an angel. The commons were not, however, so hasty in yielding to these demands, as to neglect the redress of grievances. They therefore proposed, that a hundred thousand pounds a year should be granted in the room of wardships, tenures, and purveyorships; and this proposal was, by the consent of the lords, delivered to the king.

While the parliament were proceeding upon this affair, a damp was thrown upon it, by the murder of Henry the Fourth, of France, who was stabbed with a poinyard, on the third of May 1610, while sitting in his coach, by that hardy assassin Ravalliac. Farther proceedings were also stopped by the pageantry attending the creation of the prince of Wales; but on the giving up two or three impositions, the commons granted one entire subsidy, one fifteenth and one tenth; and the clergy consented to give six shillings in the pound. But this liberality was so far from forwarding the accomplishment of their desires, that though they agreed to almost double the sum, which was at first proposed, on the terms of making some additions to their first demands, they found no other effects from this precipitate grant, but a stop being put to their proceedings by a prerogation.

At this time three separate courts, those of the king, the queen, and the prince of Wales, displayed all the pomp of royalty; and expence, shew, and revelry, were the charac-

teristics of each. While the public eye was dazzled with this triple scene of lavish riot, the courtiers had the assurance to condemn the frugality of parliamentary supplies, and to boast, that the king would find means, by his power, to supply his necessities, and to free his prerogative from such dishonourable restraints.

While James thus dreamed of enjoying an absolute power in England, he endeavoured to exert it in Scotland. He declared the assembly of the clergy of that kingdom unlawful; prosecuted some of the most forward members for treason, and obtained their condemnation. Then taking advantage of the terror this occasioned, he erected a kind of high commission court, and sent for the archbishop of Glasgow, and two other Scots prelates, to be consecrated by English bishops; in order that the episcopal virtue might be preserved by succession in Scotland; and such was his authority there, that the general assembly were induced to submit to their visitation.

Soon after died Richard Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, who had persecuted the Puritans with such vigour, that the number of families which had formed the resolution to seek refuge in Virginia, which colony was now settled, was so great, as to cause a jealousy of their power in that colony, on which account they were detained in England by a proclamation. Bancroft was succeeded in the archbishopric by George Abbot, a prelate, whose mild and laudable conduct subjected him to the hatred of the high church party.

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Though, during most of James's reign, his timidity and indolence rendered him little attentive to foreign affairs, he was roused by an event, which, in 1611, made him summon up all his religious zeal. Vorstius, a professor of divinity, and a disciple of Arminius, had been invited from a German to a Dutch university; and as he differed from his Britannic majesty, in denying that men were condemned to everlasting torments by the secret decrees of God, and in maintaining the doctrine of free-will, James was so enraged, that after having commented on the most offensive passages in a book published by that professor, he obliged the states to persecute him; and after their making several remonstrances, to banish him their dominions, though he had charitably hinted to the states, *that, as to the burning of Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism, he left them to their own Christian wisdom; but surely never heretic better deserved the flames.* Indeed, at this period, the practice of burning heretics still prevailed even in Protestant countries, except in Holland alone; and during James's reign, there are instances of its being done in England.

James appears in a more advantageous light, when considered with respect to his management of the affairs of Ireland; and as most of the institutions formed by him for civilizing that kingdom were finished about this time, it is proper that we should here give some account of them. He began with abolishing the Irish customs, which supplied the place of laws;

and having taken all the natives under his protection, declared them free citizens, and proceeded to govern them by a regular administration. Statutes was established, justice administered, oppression banished, and crimes and disorders of every kind were severely punished. The whole province of Ulster having fallen to the crown, by the attainder of rebels, a company was established in London, for planting new colonies in that province. It was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding two thousand acres: tenants were brought over from England and Scotland; and the Irish being removed from the hills and fastnesses, were settled in the open country, where they were taught husbandry and the arts. By these means, Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province of Ireland, soon became the most civilized, and the best cultivated.

The sudden death of Henry, prince of Wales, on the sixth of November, 1612, diffused an universal grief throughout the nation: the English historians mention this prince in the most amiable terms: he had not reached his eighteenth year, and yet possessed more dignity in his behaviour, and commanded more respect, than even his father, with all his learning and experience. Unseduced by irregular pleasures, he seemed to be only actuated by ambition, and the love of business. His exercises were entirely martial, and having conceived a great affection and esteem for the brave Sir Walter Raleigh, used to say, " Sure no
" king but my father would keep such a bird
" in



HENRY STUART,
Prince of WALES.

“ in a cage.” He appears to have entertained a contempt for the king, on account of his pedantry and pusillanimity; and by this means struck in with the restless and martial spirit of the English. Had he lived, he would probably have promoted the glory, but not the felicity of his people: for a martial prince is always dangerous to the liberties of a kingdom, and would doubtless have raised great impediments to the enlarged plan of liberty, which took place in the succeeding reign.

Some time after the death of the prince, the marriage of the princess Elizabeth to Frederick, the elector Palatine, served to dissipate the grief occasioned by that melancholy event. This marriage was celebrated with such joy and festivity, that the expence of the nuptials amounted to fifty thousand pounds; but it proved an unhappy event, both to the king and his son-in law; for the elector trusting to so great an alliance, engaged in enterprizes beyond his strength; and the king was neither able nor willing to extricate him from his distresses.

The fate of Arabella Stuart was very different from that of her kinswoman Elizabeth. James, to whom she was cousin-german, had seized on her possessions, and allowed her a pension for her support. This unhappy lady, tired of this dependance, and urged by her youthful inclinations, privately married Seymour, grandson to the earl of Hertford; upon which both of them were seized, but found means to make their escape, one of them, on

board a French bark, and the other in a Newcastle collier. The unhappy Arabella was retaken, and conveyed to the Tower. The fatigue she had suffered; the severity of her treatment, and her disappointment, had such a fatal effect upon her tender constitution, that she immediately lost her senses, and soon after, her life. Her husband did not venture to return to England, till after her death. The avowed cause of Arabella's melancholy fate, was the jealousy which her consanguinity gave to the crown.

For some years, an interesting object had engaged the attention of the court. About the end of the year 1609, Robert Carre, who was of a good family in Scotland, and about twenty years of age, arrived in London from his travels. All his accomplishments consisted in his having a handsome person, and a graceful demeanour. He had letters of recommendation to lord Hay, his countryman; who knowing the king's passion for youth, beauty, and an exterior appearance, resolved to introduce him in such a manner, as would make the strongest impression on that monarch. Without mentioning him at court, he appointed him at a match of tilting, to present his buckler and device to the king, in hopes that he would attract that monarch's attention. On Carre's advancing to execute his office, his horse threw him, and his leg was broke in the king's presence. James approaching him with pity and concern, was filled with love and affection, on beholding his youth and beauty; and

and ordered him to be immediately lodged in the palace. After the tilting, he himself paid him a visit in his chamber, and frequently visited him during his confinement. James, highly conceited with his own wisdom, pleased himself with the thoughts, that by his lessons and instructions, this raw unexperienced youth would, in a little time, be initiated in all the profound mysteries of government, and equal his wisest ministers; and from thenceforward, seems to have borne a greater fondness for him, than even for his own children. He soon knighted him, created him viscount Rochester, gave him the garter, brought him into the privy-council, bestowed on him the supreme direction of all his business and political concerns; and while all his wisest ministers could, with difficulty, support the exigencies of government, the king, with unsparing hand, loaded this insignificant youth with treasures.

James is said to have found his pupil so ill educated, as to be even ignorant of the first rudiments of the Latin tongue; and that the monarch, laying aside the sceptre, instructed him in the principles of grammar. At proper intervals, affairs of state were introduced, and the stripling, by the ascendant he had acquired, was enabled to pay in political, what he had received in grammatical instruction.

Carre was not so intoxicated with his advancement, as to be entirely insensible of his own ignorance and inexperience: he had therefore recourse to the assistance and advice of a friend; and found, in Sir Thomas Overbury,

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a judicious counsellor, who instilled into him the principles of prudence and discretion. He taught him to abate the envy that might attend his sudden elevation, by his zealously serving every body; and to escape the prejudices which prevailed against his countrymen, by shewing a preference to the English. Thus, while he was governed by Overbury's friendly advice, he enjoyed the highest favours of the prince, without incurring the hatred of the people. The favourite now thought nothing wanting to complete his happiness but a kind mistress: but this proved to be a rock on which he was wrecked, and for ever plunged into an abyss of guilt and infamy.

James had no sooner mounted the throne of England, than he remembered his friendship for the unhappy families of Howard and Devereux, who had suffered for adhering to the cause of Mary and his own. Having restored young Essex to his blood and dignity, and conferred the titles of Suffolk and Northampton on two brothers of the house of Norfolk, he endeavoured to unite these families, by causing the earl of Essex to marry the lady Francis Howard, the earl of Suffolk's daughter. But as he was only fourteen years of age, and she no more than thirteen, it was thought proper that he should go abroad before consummation, and pass some time in his travels. After four years absence he returned to England, and was pleased to find his countess in the full lustre of beauty, and possessed of the admiration of the whole court: but on his claiming the privileges
of

of a husband, he was received with the appearance of disgust and aversion; and met with a flat refusal. Upon his applying to her parents, they obliged her to attend him into the country, and to partake of his bed: but nothing could overcome her fullness and obstinacy; and she still rose from his side without allowing him the least favour. Disgusted with repeated denials, he at last separated himself from her; and from thenceforward, abandoned her to her own will and discretion.

The lady Essex had, during her husband's absence, received the addresses of the favourite, in which he had been too successful; and she imagined, that while she refused the embraces of Essex, she could not be deemed his wife, and that a divorce might open the way for her being married to her beloved Rochester. Though they had already indulged themselves in all the gratifications of love, they thought their happiness incomplete, while their union was not indissoluble; and both the lover and his mistress were impatient, till marriage crowned their mutual ardour.

An affair of such moment could not, however, be concluded without consulting Overbury, who was accustomed to share all Rochester's secrets. The friend, who had considered his patron's attachment to the countess of Essex merely as an affair of gallantry, which he imagined would endear him to James, who listened with attention and pleasure to the amours of his court, was greatly alarmed at Rochester's mentioning his designs of marrying

ing the countess, and used every method to dissuade him from it. He represented how invidious and difficult it would be for her, to procure a divorce from her husband: the disgrace of taking to his bed a profligate woman, who, after being married to a young nobleman of the first rank, had made no scruple of prostituting her character, to gratify a capricious and momentary passion; and, in the zeal of friendship, threatened Rochester with separating himself from him for ever, if he could be so blind to his honour, as to complete the marriage.

This conversation, Rochester had the folly to reveal to the countess of Essex; and, on her giving vent to her rage against Overbury, he had also the folly to swear to be revenged on his friend, for the greatest instance he could give him of the sincerity of his friendship. As some contrivance was necessary for the execution of their purpose, Rochester complained to the king, that his own indulgence to Overbury had rendered him so arrogant, that he should be glad to get rid of him; and therefore desired that he might be sent on an embassy to Russia; which he represented as a retreat for his friend, that would be both honourable and profitable. When Overbury consulted him, he earnestly dissuaded him from accepting it, and promised to satisfy the king, if he should be displeased at his refusal. To the king again, he aggravated the insolence of Overbury's conduct; and on the twenty-first of April 1613, obtained a warrant for committing him to the Tower, which
James

James intended as a slight punishment for his disobedience. The lieutenant of the Tower, whom Rochester had put into the office for this purpose, confined Overbury so strictly, that he was debarred the sight of his nearest relations, and deprived of hearing of what passed abroad, during near six months, which he was allowed to live.

The lovers now pursued their purpose ; and the king himself forgetting the dignity of his character, and his friendship for the family of Essex, entered zealously into the project of causing the countess to be divorced from her husband. Essex was glad to separate himself from a bad woman, by whom he was hated ; and was willing to favour their success. The pretence for a divorce was his incapacity to fulfil the conjugal duties ; and he confessed, that he was conscious of such infirmity, with regard to the countess, though he was not sensible of it, with respect to any other woman. In her place too, it is said, a young virgin was substituted, under a mask, to undergo the legal inspection, by a jury of matrons. After such a trial, seconded by the influence of the court, and supported by the ridiculous opinion of witchcraft, a sentence of divorce was pronounced between the earl of Essex and his countess ; and James, crowned the scene, by bestowing on his favourite, the title of earl of Somerset, lest the lady should lose any rank by her new marriage.

The countess of Somerset, not satisfied with this success, resolved to satiate her revenge on Overbury ; and engaged, not only her husband,
but

but her uncle, the earl of Northampton, in the base and horrid design of taking him off by poison. Weak poisons were repeated in vain ; but at last, an envenomed glister, carried him off on the 16th of September 1613. As the effects of the poison appearing on his person, his interment was hurried on with the greatest precipitation ; and though the public immediately entertained a strong suspicion of his being poisoned, it was not till some years after, that the full proof of the crime was brought to light.*

The earl of Salisbury having died the preceding year, the earl of Suffolk and the favourite succeeded him in the ministry ; and it being their task to supply an exhausted treasury, a project, which had been formed by Salisbury, was now carried into execution. The title of baronet was sold for a thousand pounds ; and two hundred patents of that species of knighthood were disposed of. An inferior order, with the title of knights of Nova Scotia, were sold at three hundred pounds each. The dignities of baron, viscount, and earl, were respectively sold at ten, fifteen, and twenty thousand pounds : benevolences were exacted, to the amount of fifty-two thousand pounds ; and these expedients proving insufficient, to supply the king's necessities, a public lottery, the first of its kind in England, was appointed to supply the deficiency. All these expedients proved insufficient ; and the invention of the ministry be-

* Hume's Hist. of England.

ing exhausted, the king was obliged, though with reluctance, to call a new parliament.

But, though great pains were taken to procure a majority for the court; and though the king, in the exordium to his speech, at the opening of the session, compared himself to a *mirror*, which discovered his true intentions, and assured them, *that his integrity was like the whiteness of his robe, his purity, like the gold in his crown, his firmness and clearness, like the precious stones he wore, and his affections like the redness of his heart* *; he received but little satisfaction from this parliament. The courtiers in vain exhausted their arguments for a speedy supply; it was determined, that the redress of grievances should precede it; and the commons refused to proceed to this important business, till they had received satisfaction; hence the parliament continued to sit till they were dissolved on the seventh of June, before one statute was enacted; after which, James wreaked his vengeance on the leading members, by throwing several of them into prison.

In the mean time, the favourite, though he had escaped the enquiry of justice, had not escaped that remorse which, amidst all the hurry and flattery of a court, stung him with the representation of his secret crimes. Somerset, conscious of the murder of his friend, received small consolation from the enjoyments of love, and the kindness of his sovereign. The graces of his youth, and the gaiety of his manners, gradually disappeared; his politeness and

* Parliamentary Hist. vol. IV. pag. 273.

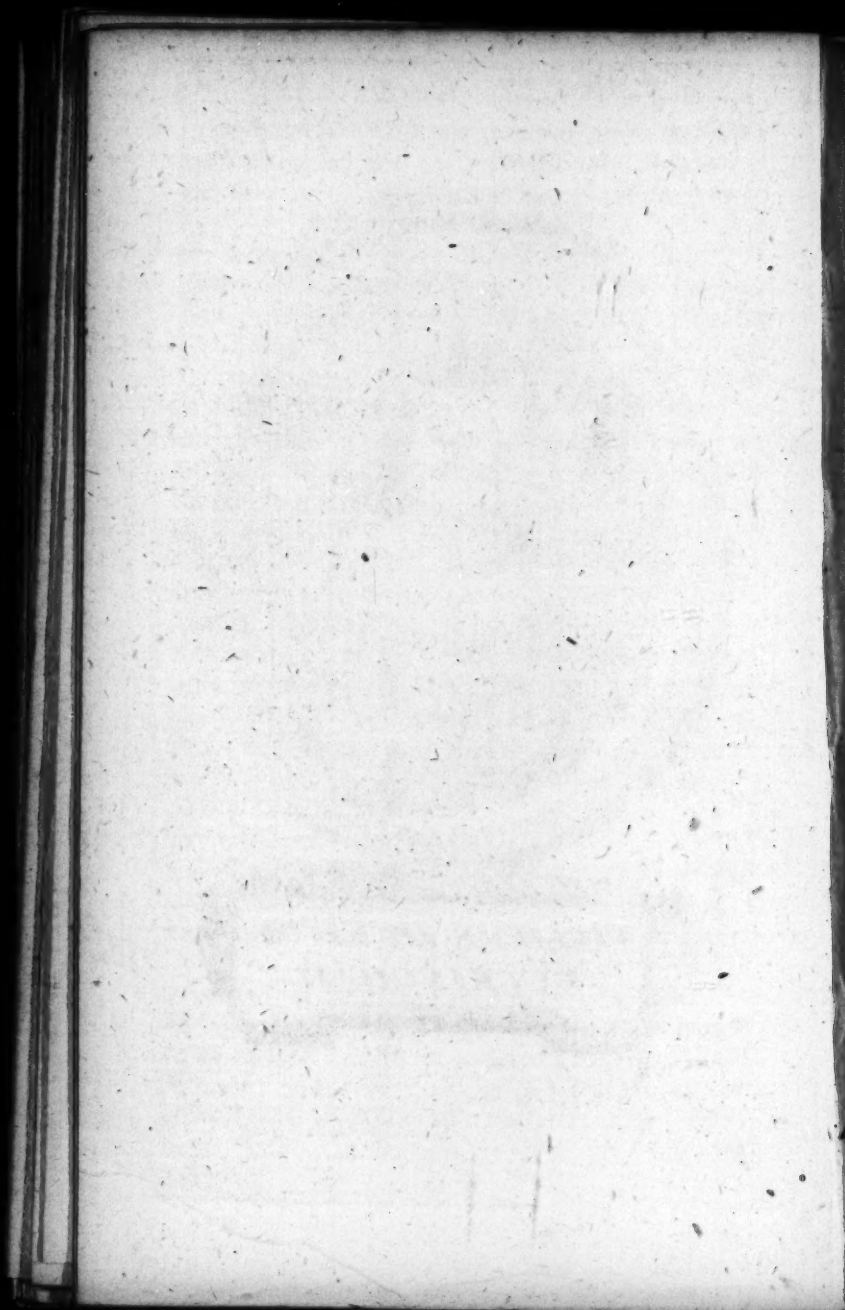
obliging manners were changed into sullenness and silence; and James, whose affections had been engaged by these accomplishments, began to estrange himself from one who no longer contributed to his amusements.

The courtiers, observing the symptoms of this disgust, seized the first opportunity of presenting a new minion to the king. At this time, George Villiers, a youth of one and twenty, the younger brother of a good family, returned from his travels; and was distinguished by his having a handsome person, a genteel air, and being well dressed, James going to the play, he was placed full before him; and engaging his attention, instantly before the object of his affections. James strove in vain to conceal the partiality he felt for the handsome stranger. And declared his resolution not to confer any office on him, till he was entreated to do it by the queen, who was immediately applied to; but though she at first refused to lend her countenance to this new passion, she afterwards consented; and had no sooner asked this favour, than he bestowed on young Villiers the office of cup-bearer.

The whole court, now divided into two parties; some endeavouring to advance the rising fortune of Villiers, while others thought it safest to adhere to the established credit of Somerset. The king himself, divided between decorum and inclination, increased the doubt and ambiguity of the courtiers, while the influence of the old favorite, who refused every advance of friendship from his rival, begat per-

petual





petual quarrels between their several partizans ; but at last, the discovery of Somerset's murder of Overbury, decided the controversy, and exposed him to deserved infamy and ruin.

The apothecary's apprentice, who had made up the poisons, having retired to Flushing, talked very freely of this cruel transaction ; and this at length came to the ears of Trumbal, the king's envoy in the Netherlands, who sent an account of it to Sir Ralph Winwood, secretary of state, who immediately carried the intelligence to the king. James, astonished at finding such enormous guilt in a man whom he had admitted to his bosom, sent for Sir Edward Coke, the chief justice, and earnestly recommended to him, the most rigorous and unbiassed scrutiny ; telling him, that Somerset and his wife had made him a pimp, to carry on their bawdry and murder ; and commanding him to spare no man whatsoever, added, " God's curse be upon you and yours, if you spare any of them ; and God's curse be upon me and mine, if I pardon any of them." The lesser criminals, Sir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the Tower, Franklin the apothecary, and other criminals, were tried and condemned ; but Northampton dying a little before, prevented his condemnation.

Great precautions were used in bringing Somerset to his trial ; and Sir Anthony Weldon says, that Sir George More, lieutenant of the Tower, told him, that when he came to inform Somerset, that he must prepare for his trial the next day, he refused to appear ; and

said, *the king durst not bring him to it.* On Morton's informing the king of this expression, he burst into tears, and entreated him to use his utmost skill, and to sooth the prisoner, by whatever means, into temper and submission. The same author relates, that when Somerset was brought to his trial, More placed a servant on each side of him, with a cloak in their arms, giving them a peremptory order, that if Somerset any way flew out on the king, they should instantly hoodwink him with the cloaks, take him by force from the bar, and carry him off.

Every precaution being used to convince Somerset, that his life depended on his prudent behaviour, he and the countess were brought to their trial. The latter pleaded guilty; and Somerset having made a languid defence, received sentence of death. All their accomplices received the punishment due to their crimes; but the principals, after continuing a long time in prison, notwithstanding James's tremendous execration, received not only a pardon, but a pension of four thousand pounds a year. With this they retired, and languished out old age in infamy and obscurity. Their guilty love was turned into the extremest hatred; and they lived many years together in the same house without any intercourse or correspondence with each other.

Somerset's fall and banishment from court, made way for Villiers to rise at once to the full height of favour, honours, and riches; and, within a few years, the king created him viscount

count Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master of the horse, chief-justice in Eyre, warden of the Cinque-ports, master of the king's-bench office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high-admiral of England. His mother obtained the title of countess of Buckingham: his brother was created viscount Purbeck, and his numerous train of near relations were raised to credit and authority. Thus the fond prince, by loading Villiers with premature and exorbitant honours, took an infallible method to render him rash, precipitate, and insolent.

The riches necessary to gratify the young minion and his necessitous family, were obtained from the spoils of Somerset, which amounted to the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, and an estate of nineteen thousand pounds a year: immense wealth, if estimated by the value of money in those days. And the next year James, in order to recruit his empty exchequer, delivered up the cautionary towns Flushing, the Brill, and Rammekins, which had been delivered to queen Elizabeth, as pledges for a debt due to her from the states. At the conclusion of the truce between Spain and the United Provinces, the states had entered into an agreement with the king, that this debt, which then amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, should be discharged by their paying forty thousand pounds annually; and five years having elapsed, the debt was reduced to six hundred thousand

pounds; and in fifteen years more, it would be finally extinguished. But twenty-six thousand pounds a year were expended on the pay of the garrison, so that the remainder, which only amounted to the annual sum of fourteen thousand pounds, was all that accrued to the king. Hence the Dutch now proposed, on the surrender of these towns, to pay him immediately two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and to incorporate the English garrisons into their army; and this proposal being accepted, they were evacuated on the sixth of June 1616; and this may be considered as the date of the full liberty of the Dutch commonwealth.

The Scots might have foreseen, that when the crown of England devolved on James, the independence of their kingdom, for which their ancestors had shed so much blood, would be lost. But never had the authority of any king, who resided among them, been so firmly established as was that of James, even in his absence. In the summer, of the year 1617, the king resolved to pay a visit to his native country, in order to renew his ancient friendships, and to introduce that change of ecclesiastical discipline and government, on which his heart was fixed. The king had, after many struggles, even before his accession to the throne of England, extorted from the Scotch clergy, an acknowledgment of the parliamentary jurisdiction of bishops, though attended with many precautions, in order to secure themselves against the spiritual encroachments
of

of that order. On his being king of England, he had engaged them to receive, though with great reluctance, the bishops, as perpetual presidents or moderators, in their ecclesiastical synods; though they reiterated their protestations against the prelates having any spiritual jurisdiction or controuling power over the presbyters: and by such gradual innovations, the king flattered himself, that he should quietly introduce the episcopal authority.

As a perfect conformity of worship and discipline, between the churches of England and Scotland, was what James principally aimed at, he could not hope to establish it, without first procuring an acknowledgment of his supreme authority in all ecclesiastical causes; but nothing could be more contrary to the principles of the presbyterian clergy. On his arrival in Scotland, he proposed to the parliament, then assembled, that they should enact, that whatever his majesty should determine, in the external government of the church, with the consent of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministry, should have the force of a law; by which means his ecclesiastical authority, had this bill passed, would have been established in its full extent: but some of the clergy protesting against it, James, dreading clamour and opposition, dropped the bill, though, by his personal authority, he had got it passed by the lords of articles. Some time after, he assembled at St. Andrews a meeting of the bishops, and thirty-six of the most eminent clergy, to whom he declared his
resolution.

resolution to exert his prerogative in establishing the four articles, of kneeling at the eucharist; the private administration of it to the sick; confirmation of children; and the observance of the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Ascension-day: but they entreated him rather to summon a general assembly, and to gain their assent. The king, after shewing much reluctance, at length consented, and an assembly was summoned on the twenty-fifth of November ensuing. Yet this assembly, which met after the king's departure from Scotland, eluded all his applications, and it was not till the subsequent year that he was able to procure a vote for receiving the above articles. Thro' every step of this affair in the parliament, as well as in all the general assemblies, the nation shewed the utmost reluctance to these innovations; and nothing but James's authority and importunity, had extorted a seeming consent, which was belied by the inward sentiments of all ranks of people. Hence every prudent man agreed in condemning the measures of the king, who, by an ill-timed zeal for ceremonies, had betrayed equal narrowness of mind, with those whom he treated with the utmost contempt.

James, at the same time, shocked the religious principles of the English, by issuing a proclamation to allow and encourage, all kinds of lawful games and exercises, after divine service on Sundays; which his subjects considered as the utmost instance of profaneness and impiety.

When

When Sir Walter Raleigh was first confined in the Tower, his opposition to Essex had rendered him the most unpopular man in England; but on his having suffered thirteen years imprisonment, the sentiments of the public were much changed. People had leisure to reflect on the injustice of his sentence; and were concerned, that a person of such an active and enterprising spirit, should, for so long a time, suffer the rigours of confinement; and they admired his unbroken magnanimity, which, at his age, and under his circumstances, could enable him to undertake and execute so great a work as his history of the world.

Though treated by his sovereign with barbarous indignity, he had, on every opportunity, offered his service, and, on many occasions, had given useful and ingenious advice; particularly with regard to forming the mind of prince Henry. He also recovered the queen from a fit of illness by medicines of his own composing. These services, added to the general good-will of the people, forced from James a farther mitigation of his unjust treatment: his lands were restored to him, and he had some indulgences with respect to liberty: but Raleigh having before made over the considerable estate of Sherburn to his son, the omission of a word in the deed of conveyance made a flaw in young Raleigh's title, and the forfeited lands reverted to the crown. This coming to the ears of the rapacious Somerset, he begged them for himself. Raleigh's wife petitioned the king on this occasion; when the
answer

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answer he returned was, " I mun ha the lands,
" I mun ha the lands for Car."

A coldness which subsisted between the courts of England and Spain had afforded an opportunity for Raleigh, who now enjoyed full liberty, to offer a project which promised a recruit to his broken fortune, and flattered the avarice of the king. He had formerly made a voyage to Guiana, in South America, and, from his experience of the country, had entertained a belief, that its bowels contained inexhaustible riches: he had actually marked particular parts of the territory, in which he fancied were mines of gold. He therefore offered to James the plan of an expedition, which promised mountains of wealth, and was eagerly received by the king, though he, at the same time, assured Sarmiento, the Spanish ambassador, that Raleigh should be bound up by his commission, from all hostilities with the Spaniards; and that if any were committed, he should be delivered up to the resentment of his Catholic Majesty: but when the commission was made out, it contained no caution against attacking the Spaniards. Raleigh set sail on the fourteenth of August 1618, with fourteen ships, all fitted out by private persons; he himself venturing in this expedition, the wrecks of his broken fortune, besides an estate which his wife had complaisantly given up to him for this purpose. After a tedious voyage, in which the adventurers experienced the distresses of storms, sickness, and want of water, they reached the coast of Guiana; when

when new obstacles opposed their obtaining the golden prize: the river Oroonoko was too shallow for the large ships to sail up in it; a division of the force was unavoidable; the smaller vessels, with a detachment of three hundred men, were sent in quest of the mines, while Raleigh staid behind with the larger ones, to defend the mouth of the river against the Spaniards. The detachment was commanded by his son; and the pilotage entrusted to his old friend Keymis, who had some knowledge of the coast. On their landing at the appointed place, they were briskly attacked by the garrison of St. Thomas, which had been lately built by the Spaniards; but they repulsed the enemy, took, plundered, and burned the town; though not without the loss of many of their men, and particularly of young Raleigh. Among the plunder were found papers, which contained the whole of Raleigh's scheme, which had been sent to Spain by Sarmiento, to whom James had the weakness to communicate it. This so enraged the soldiers, that refusing to be conducted farther by Keymis, they returned to the place where their commander lay, without having attempted any mine.

Before the arrival of Raleigh's forces, he had heard the news of his accumulated misfortunes: misfortunes no less severe than the death of his son, the blasting of all his hopes, and the danger he was in from the violence committed on the Spanish town. In vain did Key-

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his attempt to excuse his conduct : Raleigh's distress was too great to allow of any excuse : Keymis, in despair, put an end to his life, and this encreased the perplexity of the unhappy adventurer, who lost in Keymis an evidence to justify the integrity of his conduct. These disorders were succeeded by a mutiny among the crew : some were for returning to England, and some against it : the unfortunate Raleigh was of the former opinion, and prevailed so far as to bring his remaining force home. James was soon informed of all the circumstances of the miscarriage ; and the artful Sarmiento did not fail to work upon his disappointment, by representing, in lively colours, a war between the two nations, and an eternal breach of the marriage contract. Enflamed and frightened by these insinuations, the king issued a proclamation, declaring his abhorrence of what had been transacted, and condemning the cause unheard.

Raleigh, notwithstanding the proclamation, landed at Plymouth ; and after having surrendered himself, wrote a pathetic letter to the king, in which he stated the case in a clear and just light. But James was not to be moved by considerations of justice or compassion ; he was solely actuated by the fear of a rupture with Spain : that power was bent on his destruction ; and Raleigh's death was to be the cement of friendship between the two courts, and the only question was, how to compass it with the appearance of law.

Raleigh's

Raleigh's present situation grew so interesting and dangerous, that he at length complied with the repeated persuasions of his friends, and attempted to make his escape: but after he had got into the boat, which was to convey him to a bark, his heart failed him, and he surrendered himself. Soon after being convinced, that his fate was already determined, he, in a fit of despair, applied to one Manourie, a quack, to assist him in a second attempt. Manourie, in order to effect it, gave him drugs, which covered the whole surface of his body with innumerable boils and blotches; and Raleigh, to forward the success of the plan, employed many unmanly meannesses; which so far prevailed, that, on account of his ill state of health, he was suffered to repair to his own house; but Manourie betrayed the secret to Stuekly, his former keeper, who, though a near relation, had been sent by the court to Plymouth, for the double purpose of inveigling him to land, and to guard him afterwards. In consequence of private orders, Stuekly seemed to encourage the design, and for that purpose, received a considerable sum from Raleigh. The French ambassador also offered him the protection of his master, and a vessel to carry him to France. Stuekly's treacherous dissimulation was carried so far, that he accompanied Raleigh into a boat, which, as he had already betrayed him, was beset by the officers of the court, and Stuekly had the hardened assurance to own his treachery, and conduct his kinsman to the Tower.

The council now endeavoured to render Raleigh's actions as odious as possible. The declaration published by James on this subject, begins with this assertion, that kings are not bound to give an account of their actions to any but to God; however, he declares, that he is willing to represent his proceedings in this affair to the world. He then urges several charges; and, among others, that Raleigh's only design was to plunder the Spanish settlements, and to surprize their fleets. Raleigh composed an unanswerable apology for his conduct. But notwithstanding this, on the eighteenth of October 1618, though he was in the sixty-sixth year of his age, he was taken out of his bed, while in a fit of an ague, and brought to the king's bench. He attempted to make a defence, by explaining the justness of his conduct in the expedition; but was interrupted by the court, who told him, that the matter of the voyage had nothing to do in the present case, and condemned him upon his former sentence. He then addressed the court in very pathetic terms, to respite the execution for a few days, that he might settle his private affairs, and vindicate his reputation: but an order was produced, ready signed by James, though at that time in Hertfordshire, for his execution the next morning. Barbarous as was this haste, it had no effect on the present composure of Raleigh's mind. His manly philosophical deportment, during the interval of his sentence and execution, was admirable; nor less was his behaviour on the scaffold: he denied,

with

with an awful appeal to God, the heavy charges which had been laid against him; then feeling the edge of the ax, said, "It is a short remedy; but a sure one for all ills:" after which he received the fatal blow, with an indifference which left strong impressions of veneration on the beholders.

The death of Raleigh heightened the disgust which the public had long entertained to James: to execute a man of merit, upon a sentence originally illegal; a sentence whose rigour had been already felt, in the loss of a large fortune, and of fifteen years imprisonment; a sentence which had been understood to have been pardoned by the trust and command lately conferred, was considered as an instance of the utmost cruelty and injustice: to do this in order to gratify the Spaniards, was an instance of the utmost meanness; and this, to forward an alliance, which the whole nation detested, excited the greatest indignation and contempt. Upon this occasion, Buckingham wrote to Cottington, James's agent at the court of Spain, directing him to let that court know, that his master, to give them content, had not spared Sir Walter Raleigh, tho', by preserving him, he might have given great satisfaction to his subjects, and had at command, upon all occasions, as useful a man as served any prince in Christendom*.

James's pride had made him adopt the opinion, that no princess, besides a daughter of

* Birch's life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

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France or Spain, was worthy to be mentioned as a match for the prince of Wales; and this instance of pride gave the king of Spain the hopes of governing this monarch, in the most important transactions. During Henry's life, the king of Spain had dropped some hints of bestowing on that prince, his eldest daughter, whom he afterwards married to Lewis XIII. the young king of France. Sarmiento, who had been gratified with the title of count Gondomar, had now offered the second daughter of Spain to prince Charles; and, to render the temptation irresistible to the necessitous monarch, he gave hopes of the princess's having an immense fortune. Though the court of Spain was determined to contract no alliance with a heretic, they entered into negotiations with James, which they artfully protracted, and amidst every disappointment, still redoubled his hopes of success; a duplicity of conduct which was now occasioned by the transactions in Germany.

A commotion, which threatened the ruin of the protestants this year, broke out in Germany. The reformed religion prevailed in Bohemia, and as the regal dignity was elective, the Bohemians had obtained extraordinary privileges with respect to religion. The emperor Matthias possessed the crown of Bohemia; and, to please the Catholics, adopted Ferdinand, his cousin-german, who was archduke of Gratz, for his successor, who was descended from a younger branch of the house of Austria, and was a zealous Roman. Not satisfied with Matthias's

thias's adoption, he obliged him, through the means of the Catholic party, to resign the crown of Bohemia; and, by a partial call of the states, in an assembly composed of Catholics, obtained the election, though he was not to act as sovereign till after the emperor's death. The kingdom of Bohemia was now governed by a council of papists, and the protestant party being treated in a very injurious manner, a general assembly of the states demanded reparation for the injuries they had sustained, and then adjourned to another day. The emperor's lieutenants attempted to prevent their meeting again, but the states were so enraged at this tyrannical opposition, that they seized the emperor's officers, and threw the most insolent of them out of the castle window. The Bohemians now took arms, in defence of their religion, and of their ancient laws and constitution. The kingdom of Hungary, and the neighbouring principalities, Silesia, Moravia, Austria, and Lusatia, took part in the quarrel, and a spirit of discord and civil war was universally diffused throughout these populous and martial provinces.

In the mean time, Matthias died, and Ferdinand obtaining the imperial dignity, all the Catholic princes of the empire embraced his defence, and even Saxony, the most powerful of the Protestants. Poland had likewise declared in his favour, as did also the king of Spain, who interesting himself in the quarrel, prepared powerful succours, and advanced large sums for the support of Ferdinand, and

of the Catholic religion. The states of Bohemia, alarmed at these vast preparations, began also to solicit foreign assistance. They cast their eye upon Frederick, elector Palatine; who, besides his having considerable forces, was son-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to prince Maurice, who had an almost absolute authority in the United Provinces, and offered him their crown, which he accepted, without consulting either James or Morris, and marched, with all his forces, into Bohemia, to support his new subjects.

The news of these events no sooner reached England, than it had different effects upon James and his subjects. The people, animated by zeal for liberty, and ardently longing to relieve their Protestant brethren, were fired with impatience to enter as parties into the quarrel: but the king, whose ambition was solely centered in the Spanish match, had opposite inclinations: he refused to patronize revolted subjects against their sovereign, however unjustly he obtained that dignity; besides, his finances were not in a situation to enter into a war, without a large supply from parliament; and the treaty on foot, opposite to the inclinations of the whole people, rendered such an assembly, at this juncture, particularly undesirable. Besides the English navy, which would have been of great service, in keeping Spain in awe, by the persuasions of Gondomar, had been suffered to go almost totally to decay, and wanted much time and money to put it in a condition for any hostile enterprize.

In the mean time, affairs every where hastened to a crisis. Ferdinand levied a great force, commanded by the duke of Bavaria and the count of Bucquoy, who advanced into Bohemia; and Spinola assembled a veteran army of thirty thousand men in the Netherlands. The news reached England almost at the same time that Frederick, being defeated in the great and decisive battle of Prague, had fled with his family into Holland; and that Spinola had invaded the Palatinate, where, meeting with no resistance, except from some princes of the union, and from two thousand four hundred English, under the command of the brave Sir Horace Vere, he had reduced the greatest part of that principality.

Anne of Denmark, James's queen, did not live to know of the entire ruin of her daughter's fortune: for her death happened in the beginning of the year 1619, in the forty-fifth year of her age. She was of a vain and haughty temper, and the court amusements, which were under her direction, were pompous and gaudy, without any degree of taste or propriety: but as she had little influence over her husband, she escaped the odium which fell on all who had the management of public affairs.

Murmurs and complaints against the king's neutrality and inactivity now rose high; and this James attempted to turn to his own pecuniary advantage, by demanding an aid towards the recovery of the Palatinate: but whether the people thought this only an excuse to extort money from them, or whether they were disgusted

disgusted at its being demanded when it was too late to expect success, the king got little from his subjects by this stratagem.

A parliament being now found to be the only resource that could furnish large supplies, writs were issued for summoning that great council of the nation; and at the same time, Buckingham wrote to assure Gondomar, that his master was determined to remain neuter, “ from the reasons of conscience, honour, and
“ example : first, because our religion enjoins
“ us to obey our prince, though he should be
“ a Turk : secondly, that if he assisted his
“ son-in-law, it would be contrary to his pro-
“ testations, which would be very dishonour-
“ able ; and thirdly, it would be a dangerous
“ precedent against all Christian kings, to al-
“ low of the translation of a crown by the au-
“ thority of the people.”

While the king of Spain was thus completing the destruction of James's family, Gondomar had the address, in spite of his aversion to warlike enterprizes, to prevail on him to send out a naval force against the Algerines, who began to be formidable to the Spaniards; and, at the same time, the Spanish ambassador was suffered to buy up all kind of warlike stores, to supply the Spanish magazines.

In the mean time, the people cast such censures on the government, that proclamations were continually issued against excess of speech, all of them in threatening strains; but the offenders being secured by their numbers,

bers, these proclamations only served to encrease the clamour.

In this parliament, the commons being informed, that the king had remitted several considerable sums to the Palatinate, voted him two subsidies, and afterwards proceeding to the examination of grievances, they found that patents had been granted to Sir Francis Michel, and Sir Giles Mompeffon, for licensing inns and alehouses; that under the pretence of these licenses, great sums had been exacted; and that fines, imprisonments, and vexatious prosecutions, had been inflicted on such inn-keepers, as presumed to continue their business without gratifying the avarice of the patentees. The same persons had also procured a patent, which they shared with Sir Edward Villiers, Buckingham's brother, for the sole making of gold and silver thread and lace; and to prevent any rivalry in these manufactures, they were armed with authority to search for all goods that might interfere with their patent; and even to punish, at their own discretion, the makers, importers, and venders of such commodities. By this exorbitant jurisdiction, many had suffered; and at the same time, the lace manufactured, by the patentees, was found to contain more copper than gold or silver. These grievances the commons represented to the king, from whom they met with a cordial reception; and a sentence being passed for the punishment of Michel and Mompeffon, it was executed on the former; but the latter broke out of prison, and escaped. At the same time
Villiers

Villiers was purposely sent on a foreign employment; and his guilt being less apparent than that of the others, he was the more easily protected by Buckingham, his brother.

The commons, encouraged by this success, carried their scrutiny into other abuses of importance; and among the numberless evidences which thronged to accuse the corrupt ministers, charges were brought against Bacon, who had, for some time, enjoyed the chancellorship, and had been created viscount St. Albans. He was accused of having set the seal to a great number of illegal patents, and even of bribery in the execution of his office. His want of œconomy, and his indulgence to his servants, had involved him in necessity; and tempted him to take these bribes, under the title of presents, in a very open manner. It however appears, that it had been usual for former chancellors to take presents; and it is even said, that he had given just decrees against those very persons from whom he had received the wages of iniquity. But it is certain, that he received a number of letters from Buckingham, in favour of different people who had causes depending in chancery; and there is great reason to believe, that these mandates were implicitly obeyed, by the submissive time-serving chancellor. Conscious of his guilt, he signed an ample confession of the whole charge brought against him, with some trifling extenuations, and an humble petition for a favourable sentence. He was adjudged to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds; to be imprisoned in the

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Tower during the king's pleasure ; to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment, and never again to sit in parliament, or to come within the verge of the court. " Thus " ignominious, says Mrs. Macaulay, was the " fall of the famous Bacon, despicable in all " the active part of life, and only glorious in " the contemplative. Him, the rays of sci- " ence served but to embellish, not to en- " lighten ; and philosophy herself was degrad- " ed by a conjunction with his mean soul. " It is needless for an historian to describe the " strength or extent of his genius, his preci- " ous bequests to posterity paint them stronger " than can any other pen." He survived his disgrace only five years, which he employed in literary productions, that rendered his guilt overlooked by posterity. The king afterwards remitted his fine, as well as all the other parts of his sentence ; and even conferred on him a pension of eighteen hundred pounds a year. It is said, that this great philosopher at last lamented, that ambition and false glory had diverted him from spending his whole time in a manner worthy of so great a genius, and that by plunging into business, and affairs which require much less capacity, but greater firmness than the pursuits of learning, he had exposed himself to such grievous calamities.

During the recess of parliament, the king published a proclamation, declaring, that all the abuses complained of, should be redressed by regal authority ; that it was not necessary for the parliament to reform them, and that they

they would have been reformed before, if they had been known; and that the ears both of the king and the privy-council, would be open to their modest and just complaints. Another proclamation following this, which forbade the conversing upon state-affairs; and threatened severe penalties both against the utterers and concealers of these speeches. The people, indeed, had sufficient cause of complaint: the king had committed to prison Sir Edward Sandys, for no other known cause, besides his activity and vigour in discharging his duty as member of parliament; besides the transactions in Germany, with the king's cautious negotiations and delays, were sufficient to enflame that jealousy of honour and religion, which prevailed throughout the nation. This summer, 1621, the ban of the empire was published against the elector Palatine, and the execution of it committed to the duke of Bavaria, who soon completely conquered the Upper Palatinate; and measures were taking for bestowing on him the electoral dignity, of which the Palatine was despoiled. Frederick, with his numerous family, now lived in poverty and distress with the duke of Bouillon; and those who professed the reformed religion, were treated with the utmost rigour and severity, both in Bohemia, Austria, and Lusatia, as well as the Palatinate.

Upon the assembling of the parliament on the fourteenth of November, in the same year, the commons drew up a remonstrance, in which they represented, that the enormous growth of the

the Austrian power threatened the liberties of Europe, and raised great expectations in the English Papists; but above all, the prospect of the Spanish match elevated them so far, as to make them entertain the hopes of an entire toleration, if not the complete establishment of their religion. The commons, therefore, besought his majesty to recover the Palatinate by force of arms, and to make war on Spain, whose armies and treasures were the chief support of the Catholic interest in Europe; and that he would enter into no negotiation for the marriage of his son, but with a Protestant princess. James was, at this time, at Newmarket; but no sooner heard of the intended remonstrance of the commons, than he wrote to the speaker, and sharply rebuked the house for debating on matters, which he asserted was far above their reach and capacity; forbidding them to meddle with any thing that regarded his government, or deep matters of state, and not to concern themselves about his son's marriage with the daughter of Spain. To intimidate them, he mentioned the imprisonment of Sir Edwin Sandys; and though he denied its being owing to any offence committed in the house, he maintained, that he was fully entitled to punish every misdemeanour in parliament, as well during its sitting, as after its dissolution; and that from thenceforward, he intended to chastise every man, whose insolent behaviour there should give him offence.

The commons answered this letter with a calmness and steadiness, which sufficiently

shewed, that they knew their own strength and dignity; and in a new remonstrance, maintained, that they were entitled to interpose with their counsel, in all matters of government; that entire freedom of speech, in their debates on public business, was their ancient and undoubted right; and an inheritance transmitted to them from their ancestors; and if any member abused this liberty, it belonged to the house alone to inflict a proper punishment upon him.

To these representations James returned a copious reply, in which he maintained, that public transactions depended on a complication of views and intelligence, with which they were entirely unacquainted; that they would better shew their wisdom as well as duty, by keeping within their proper sphere; and that they had no title to interpose with their advice, except when he was pleased to desire it. And concluded with these words, “ And tho’
 “ we cannot allow of your stile, in mentioning your ancient right and inheritance, but
 “ would rather have wished, that ye had said,
 “ that your privileges were derived from the
 “ grace and permission of our ancestors and us
 “ (for most of them grew from precedents,
 “ which shews rather a toleration than inheritance) yet we are pleased to give you our
 “ royal assurance, that as long as you contain
 “ yourselves within the limits of your duty,
 “ we will be as careful to maintain your lawful liberties and privileges, as any of our
 “ predecessors

"predecessors were, nay, as to preserve our
"own royal prerogative."

The commons were now naturally alarmed at the king's open pretensions: for they found their title to every privilege denied, and the possession rendered precarious. They therefore immediately framed a protestation, in which they repeated their former claims to freedom of speech, and maintained, "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England." At this the king was so displeased, that he prorogued the parliament, and soon after dissolved it by proclamation; in which he also apologized to the public for his conduct. Five of the leading members were committed to prison, and several others were sent to Ireland to execute some business; the king exercising the pretended prerogative of employing any man in the public service, even without his consent. At the same time Sir John Saville, who had great influence in the house, and zealously opposed the court, was made comptroller of the household, a privy counsellor, and soon after a baron. This is supposed to be the first instance of any king of England's advancing a man, on account of his opposition to his measures.

The political reasonings and enquiries which commenced in parliament, were now warmly propagated throughout the nation. James in vain forbade the discoursing of state affairs, by repeated proclamations; for these seemed on-

ly to inflame the curiosity of the public, and the late transactions became the subject of argument and debate in every company.

James still continued to serve his son-in-law, only by his negociations, which appeared abroad in so ridiculous a light, that he was there painted with a scabbard, without a sword, and with a sword which no body could draw, tho' several were pulling at it; and at Brussels, a farce was acted, in which a courier was introduced with the doleful news, that the Palatinate would be wrested from the house of Austria, as powerful succours were hastening to the relief of the despoiled elector: the king of Denmark having agreed to contribute to his assistance a hundred thousand pickled herrings, the Dutch a hundred thousand butter-boxes, and the king of England a hundred thousand ambassadors. While James still continued his negociations, the very enemies of his son-in-law murmured at the arbitrary severities practised against him by the emperor: but James was so little affected by them, that Gondomar wrote word to Spain, that he had lulled the king of England so fast asleep, that he hoped neither the cries of his daughter nor her children, nor the repeated sollicitations of his subjects in their behalf, would be able to awake him*.

James's eyes were entirely turned towards Spain; for he imagined, that if he could complete his son's marriage with the infanta, his

* Mrs. Macaulay's history of England.

interest with that court would make it easy for him to procure his son-in-law's being restored to the Palatinate. James, at last, finding that a dispensation from Rome must be obtained for the marriage of the infant, with a Protestant prince, and that the difference of religion was the principal, if not the sole difficulty, that retarded the marriage, he resolved to soften that objection as much as possible; and issued orders for discharging all Popish recusants who were imprisoned; and it was apprehended, that he would, for the future, forbid the execution of the penal laws enacted against them. For this step he apologized, by ascribing it to his great zeal for the reformed religion; declaring, that he had applied to all foreign princes for indulgence to be granted to the distressed Protestants, but was answered by objections derived from the severity of the English laws against Catholics.

At length all measures were agreed upon between the kings of Spain and England; and nothing was wanting, but the dispensation from Rome, which might be considered as a mere formality. The king now exulted in his pacific counsels, and boasted of his superior sagacity and penetration. The articles of the portion and jointure were already settled; and the English ambassador at Spain wrote word, that he should soon bring to England the most accomplished princess in the world, with a portion of two millions of pieces of eight*. But

* Six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

all his flattering hopes were blasted by the temerity of Buckingham. That minister, ever since the fall of Somerset, had governed both the court and the kingdom without controul. He possessed some of the accomplishments of a courtier, but was destitute of every talent proper for a great minister. He was headstrong, and equally incapable of prudence and dissimulation: he was a warm friend, and a furious enemy, upon the slightest occasions; and had all the insolence which attends a fortune newly acquired. The prince of Wales himself had experienced the arrogance of this overgrown favourite; and a great coldness had taken place between them; but being desirous of overcoming the prince's aversion, and at the same time envying the great credit acquired by Bristol, in the Spanish negotiation, he thought of an expedient, by which both these inclinations might be gratified. He told Charles, that persons in his exalted station, were peculiarly unhappy in their marriages, by not having the object of their choice; and that, however accomplished the infanta might be, she could only consider herself as a victim of state; but that it was in the prince's power to warm the coldest indifference: that if he took a journey to Madrid, such an unexpected piece of gallantry would introduce him to the princess, under the agreeable character of a devoted lover, and bold adventurer; and that the negotiation, with respect to the Palatinate, which had so long languished in the hands of ministers, would soon be terminated by so illustrious

Iustrious an agent, seconded by the entreaties of the grateful infanta.

The young prince's mind being inflamed by the idea of this romantic expedition, gave his consent; and on the first favourable opportunity, when James was a little elevated by liquor, and by a previous conversation on the infanta's expected arrival, the prince begged so importunately for his consent, and was seconded by Buckingham, with arguments so well adapted to the king's inclinations, that he was at length prevailed on to comply. The king's promise being thus obtained, he was farther urged to consent to their putting the design in immediate execution, with no other attendants but two servants, who should be kept in total ignorance, till the moment of their departure. After which they left him, in order to prepare for their journey.

No sooner was James alone, than innumerable difficulties presented themselves to his frightened imagination, and he was in such disorder the next day, when the prince and Buckingham returned to him for their dispatches, that he burst into tears, and cried, that he was undone, and that they would break his heart, if they persisted in their resolution. With his usual earnestness, he set before them the evil that must attend this rash enterprize; and said, that he should never forgive himself for entrusting at his years, the heir of his crown, and the prop of his age, to foreigners, without so much as a safe conduct; that if the king of Spain was sincere, the infanta would, in a few months,

months, be brought to England; and, if he was not sincere, his committing the prince into his hands, would be the most egregious folly; as Philip, being possessed of so invaluable a pledge, might rise in his demands, and impose harder conditions; and that the apparent rashness of this enterprize would render him ridiculous to all posterity. The suppliant monarch received no answer to the weighty reasons he had mentioned. The prince put him in mind of the promise he had made the day before, which, he added, was so sacred, that he hoped he would not violate it; and that if he did, he would never more think of marriage. Buckingham treated him with an insolence which he had always experienced to be successful; and told him, that his word would never be again believed, if he so soon retracted what he had so solemnly promised; that he plainly perceived this change proceeded from another breach of his word, in mentioning the affair to some rascal, who had furnished him with those pitiful reasons; but that he did not doubt, that he should know hereafter, who his counsellor was, and that his receding from his promise would so disoblige the prince, that he would never forget it, nor forgive any man who had been the cause of it.

The prince's importunity, and the roughness of Buckingham, entirely prevailed over James's passive disposition; and after having denied, with many oaths, that he had communicated the affair to any man living; he, a second time, gave them full leave to follow their
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inclinations. It was agreed, that they should set out in two days ; and that Sir Francis Cottington, the prince's secretary, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed-chamber, should accompany them ; and Sir Francis, being then in the anti-chamber, he was, by the king's orders, immediately called in.

On his appearance James told him, that as he had been always an honest man, he would trust him in an affair of the utmost importance, which he was not, upon his life, to disclose to any man whatever. He then added, " Cottington, here is Baby Charles, and Stenny" (the names he usually gave to the prince and Buckingham) " who have a mind to go post into Spain, and fetch home the infanta : They will have but two more in their company, and have chosen you for one. What think you of the journey ?" Sir Francis, who had resided some years in Spain, was immediately struck with the obvious objections which had already occurred to the king, and made no scruple of declaring them. Upon which the king threw himself upon the bed in another passion of sighs, tears, and lamentations, exclaiming, " I told you this before ; I am undone ! I am undone ! and shall lose baby Charles !"

Anger and rage appeared in the countenances of the prince and Buckingham, at Cottington's discourse ; and the latter told him, that on the king's having asked him only the best way of making the journey, he had the presumption to give his advice in matters of state,
against

against his master, without being called to it; which he should repent as long as he lived. These threatenings put the king into a new agony, who cried out, "Nay, by God, Stenny, you are much to blame for using him so: he answered me directly to the question I asked him, very honestly and wisely; and yet, you know, he said no more than I told you before he was called in." However, after all this passion on both sides, James renewed his consent.

To the great concern of the dejected king, the prince, Buckingham, and their two attendants set out from London on the twenty-seventh of February, 1623, and passed in disguise and undiscovered through France under the names of Jack and Tom Smith, and appeared at Paris in disguise, where they even ventured to go to a ball at court, at which Charles saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards married. In eleven days after they left London they arrived at Madrid, and alighted at Bristol's, who, on seeing them, was struck with astonishment and confusion, as he was convinced, that nothing but this could have prevented the successful conclusion of an affair which had cost so much time, pains, and vexation. The king of Spain immediately paid Charles a visit; expressed his gratitude for the confidence reposed in him, and made the warmest protestations of equal confidence and friendship. He treated his royal guest with the most studied civilities; gave him a golden key, which opened all his apartments, that he might have access

access to him at all hours : on every occasion he took the left hand of him, except in the apartments assigned to Charles ; for there he alledged the prince was at home : he was introduced into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony as the kings of Spain on their coronation. All the prisons of Spain were thrown open, and the prisoners received their liberty ; during Charles's residence in Spain, the sumptuary laws, with respect to apparel, were suspended ; the privy-counsellors waited on him in a body, to let him know, that they had orders to obey him as the king himself ; the queen sent him presents of rich apparel, perfumes, and rarities of the country ; he was entertained with a variety of shews and triumphs ; and, like a successful knight, often obtained the prize, in the presence of his mistress.

James was so delighted with the accounts he received of his son's treatment at the court of Spain, that he gave vent to the most frantic expressions of joy ; and was frequently heard to say, " Now all the devils in hell cannot hinder the match." The pope, however, no sooner heard of the prince's arrival in Madrid, than he tacked some new articles to the dispensation ; and it became necessary to transmit the articles to London, that the king might ratify them. Those articles, which were made public, chiefly regarded the exercise of the Catholic religion, by the infanta and her household ; and that the children should be educated by the infanta till they were ten years of age. Besides these, there were separate articles,

cles, privately sworn to by the king, in which he promised to suspend the penal laws against the Catholics; to procure a repeal of them in parliament; and to grant a toleration for the exercise of the Catholic religion in private houses. About this time, the prince received a very civil letter from the pope, which he answered in such terms, as might raise a belief in the pontiff, that he intended to restore the Catholic religion in England.

A doubt now arose in the court of Spain, whether James was able to grant the toleration for the Catholics, without creating a rebellion; and it was concluded, that the infanta should not be sent into England till these alterations were established. This new objection threw the king into a fit of despair: his promises had been made in secret, and not to be performed but by degrees, after the marriage was concluded; he was, therefore, under the greatest apprehensions of the consequences that would follow his abruptly putting them in execution. To obviate every objection, he caused a full declaration of his intentions to be drawn up, and signed by himself and several of his privy counsellors. The Spanish ambassadors, not being satisfied with these assurances, James was desired to give security for their performance; to which he answered, that he could give no other security than his own and the prince's oaths, under the great seal of England. This being not satisfactory, James had the mortification to be told, that his own and the prince's oaths were not sufficient, unless
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some sovereign Catholic prince would engage for the performance of the articles. While affairs were thus embarrassed, the king of Spain professed to engage himself, by oath, for their performance, if his divines determined that he might do it with a safe conscience. The divines were assembled, and it was at length concluded, that the king of Spain might be his security; but in case the king of England should fail to execute what was stipulated, his Catholic Majesty was to vindicate his oath by the sword. Thus did the king of Spain obtain a kind of right to head a large party in England, which was to appeal to him whenever they suffered any grievance.

At this crisis, when the affair was apparently concluded, the death of Gregory XV. afforded the Spaniards an excuse for delaying the nuptials, till the dispensation was renewed by Urban VIII. and that crafty pontiff delayed sending it, in hopes, that during the prince's residence in Spain, some expedient might be found to effect his conversion.

By these vexatious delays, Charles's patience was at length exhausted. Instead of being indulged with those tender interviews, which encrease the passion of a sanguine lover, he had been treated with the utmost reserve, and only suffered to entertain his mistress in the most formal manner, before a circle of ceremonious spectators. Buckingham, whose insolence had procured him the hatred of the court of Spain, now used all his influence to fill the prince with aversion to the Spanish

match, and to inspire him with fear, that the Spaniards would never let him return to England; and they both wrote letters to James, to inform him, that they had at length discovered the king of Spain's insincerity, and had found, that he had no inclination either to cause the Palatinate to be restored, or to accomplish the marriage; and that the prince was in danger of being detained in Spain all his life. These advices put the poor old king into such a fright, that he sent positive orders to Buckingham to bring away the prince, if possible; and, at the same time, sent a fleet of ships to St. Andero, in Biscay, to escort them home. Charles, on the first hint, obtained permission to return; and Philip graced his departure with all the marks of civility and respect which had been used at his arrival. A pillar was even erected on the spot where they took their leave of each other, as a monument of their mutual friendship; and Charles, after having returned Philip's compliments, and sworn to the observance of all the articles, entered on his journey, and embarked on board the English fleet.

As Buckingham's impetuous and domineering character had acquired a complete ascendant over the mind of Charles, he was firmly resolved, on his leaving Madrid, notwithstanding all his professions, to break off the treaty with Spain. James was unwilling to abandon a project, which, for many years, had been the object of all his wishes, and which he had now conducted to a happy period. Besides the rupture with Spain, with the loss of six hundred

dred thousand pounds, was little agreeable to the pacific and indigent king: but finding his son and Buckingham bent against a match which his people and parliament had always opposed, he submitted. The prince and Buckingham no sooner arrived at London, than they assumed entirely the direction of the negotiation; and sought for pretences to give a colour to the intended breach of treaty.

Mean while the dispensation arriving at Madrid, bonfires were made throughout all Spain; guns were fired, and public rejoicings made. The infanta assumed the title of princess of England, and her family was settled; from the time of the prince's departure, she had applied herself to learning the English language, and had begun the letters of compliment, which were to be sent to her husband and father-in-law on the day of her espousal; presents were prepared for their acceptance; the ninth of December was appointed for the marriage; all the grandees were invited to the wedding; an open gallery covered with tapestry, a quarter of a mile in length, was erected, through which the bride was to be conducted with great magnificence and solemnity from the palace to the church; and Bristol had provided costly equipages; but all these preparations were instantly defeated, on his opening his farther instructions from England, which were to procure the entire surrender of the Palatinate and Electorate, before he proceeded to finish the contract. To this ill-timed demand the king of Spain answered,

that neither the Palatinate nor Electorate were at his disposal; but if a treaty was set on foot, and the emperor and duke of Bavaria would not come to terms, he would join his arms with those of England to recover them.

This answer not being esteemed satisfactory, Bristol was recalled, the infanta laid aside the title of princess of England, and the study of the English tongue; and Philip, supposing that the rash counsels by which the court of England was now governed, would not stop at the breach of the treaty of marriage, immediately prepared for a war. Thus ended a treaty, in which had been expended in embassies in the prince's journey, and in presents at the court of Madrid, as much money as the destined portion of the infanta.

James now found, that he was obliged to concert new measures, and had recourse to a benevolence, which was extorted by the most injurious measures. Barnes, a citizen of London, being the first who refused to contribute any thing, orders were sent him from the treasurer, that he must immediately prepare to ride post with a dispatch to Ireland; upon which he was glad to compound the matter, by paying a hundred pounds; after which, no one dared to refuse the benevolence required.

This benevolence having procured the king less money than ill-will from his subjects, he now found, that no effectual step could be taken without the assistance of parliament. This assembly met on the nineteenth of February 1624; and James being entirely under the government

vernment of Buckingham, in his speech to both houses, dropped some hints of the cause of the complaint against Spain; and condescended to ask the advice of parliament (which he had before so strenuously rejected) with respect to the affairs relating to his son's marriage. Buckingham then delivered to a committee of lords and commons a long narrative, which he pretended to be true and complete, of every step taken in the negotiation with Spain; but partly by the suppression of some facts, and partly by the false colouring laid on others, this account was entirely calculated to mislead the parliament, and to throw the reproach of artifice and insincerity on the court of Spain. Yet it was vouched for truth by the prince of Wales, who was present. However, though Buckingham's narrative was artfully disguised, yet it contained contradictions, sufficient to open the eyes of all reasonable men; but it was so agreeable to the passions and prejudices of the parliament, that they immediately advised the king to break off the treaties relating to the marriage, and the restitution of the Palatinate, and to carry his arms into Spain. The people, now delighted with the thoughts of war, expressed their joy by bonfires, rejoicings, and insults on the Spanish ambassador. Buckingham instantly became the favourite of the public and the parliament; and he being intoxicated by the sudden popularity which he so little deserved, now opposed the royal authority, and encouraged schemes for abolishing the order of bishops, and for

selling the dean and chapter-lands, in order to defray the expences of a Spanish war.

The king, though he was still desirous of temporizing with Spain, was so borne down by the torrent of popular prejudices, conducted and encreased by his favourite, that he was obliged to declare, in a speech to parliament, in favour of hostile measures, if they would engage to support him. He began his speech with lamenting, that after he had so long valued himself on his being a pacific monarch, he was now, in his old age, forced to exchange the blessings of peace, for the unavoidable calamities of war; he then represented the immense sums that would be necessary to carry it on, and demanded a vote of six subsidies, and twelve-fifteenths, as a proper stock before hostilities began; he also mentioned his heavy debts, chiefly contracted by the sums remitted to the Palatine; and though he had before carried his pretended prerogative to the most arbitrary length, he now made a voluntary offer, that the money voted should be paid to a committee of parliament, and issued out by them, without its being entrusted to his management. The commons willingly accepted of this concession; but voted him only three subsidies and three-fifteenths*. However, James's condescension in permitting the parliament to be their own treasurers, turned out to be a piece of gross king-craft; for, on

* This, according to Mr. Hume, amounted to less than three hundred thousand pounds.

accepting the subsidies, he told the parliament, that one penny of this money should not be bestowed but in sight of their committee, yet whether he should send two or ten thousand men, or whether by sea or land, to the east, or to the west, they must leave that to their king. Thus, though the parliament had appointed their receivers, yet as these commissioners were to answer all draughts made upon them by the crown, the power was nothing more than nominal, and was a device of Buckingham's, to cajole the commons into a liberal grant.

The parliament took advantage of this present good agreement with the king, to pass the bill against monopolies; and these were condemned as contrary to law, and the known liberties of the people. In that act, it was supposed that every subject of England had power to dispose of his own actions, provided he did no injury to any of his fellow-subjects; and that no prerogative of the king, nor the power of any magistrate, and nothing but the authority of the laws, could set any limits to freedom.

The important power of impeachment was now exerted; a power, which, for above a century past, had only been once exercised by the commons against the lord Verulam; except when they were made the instruments of the sovereign's resentment. By Buckingham's interest, the earl of Middlesex had been raised from the rank of a London merchant, to be treasurer of England; but having incurred the displea-

displeasure of his patron, by scrupling, or refusing, some money demanded of him, during the prince's residence in Spain, the favourite vowed revenge, and procured his being impeached by the commons. James was highly displeased, and expostulating to his son and his insolent minion, on the madness of their present conduct, told the one, that he was making a rod to scourge himself, and the other, that he would have his belly full of parliamentary enquiries. In a speech to the parliament, he apologized for Middlesex, and endeavoured to soften the accusations against him. However, the treasurer was found guilty by his peers, though the misdemeanours were of small importance: those of the greatest weight were his accepting of two presents of five hundred pounds each, for passing two patents. He was sentenced to pay fifty thousand pounds for the king's use, and to suffer all the other penalties formerly inflicted upon Bacon: but on the prince's ascending the throne, the fine was remitted.

As the king was unable to resist the united power of his people, his parliament, his son, and his favourite, he was compelled to embrace those very measures for which he had entertained a settled aversion. But though he dissembled his resentment, he began to estrange himself from Buckingham, to whom he ascribed all these violent proceedings, and whom he considered as the cause of the prince's journey into Spain, and of the breach of the marriage treaty; he therefore impatiently longed

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for the arrival of Bristol, whose wisdom he respected; and hoped, by the assistance of that minister, to extricate himself from all his difficulties. That able negociator, while Charles resided in Spain, had opposed, by his wise counsels, all the impetuous measures of Buckingham. After the prince's departure, upon the first appearance of a change of resolution, he strenuously insisted on the sincerity of the Spaniards. Exasperated at finding that all the pains he had taken were rendered abortive, by the caprices of an insolent minion, he would understand no hints; and nothing but fresh orders from the king, could engage him to make the demand, which put a final period to the treaty. Hence he was not surprized at hearing, that Buckingham was his open enemy; and that many reflections had been cast upon him both by the council and parliament.

Upon receiving the first orders, he prepared to leave Madrid. He was conducted to the Catholic king and his prime minister; where the latter, by Philip's order, expressed his concern at his meeting with so unworthy a reward for his faithful services; entreated him to fix his abode in Spain, and not to expose himself to the malice of his rival, and the fury of the people. To soften the rigours of banishment, he offered him every advantage of rank and fortune, and to make a public declaration, that they were bestowed merely for his fidelity to the trust committed to him by his master.

Bristol expressed the utmost gratitude, but declined the acceptance of these princely offers;

fers ; and observed, that his remaining at Madrid, and receiving honour and preferment from his Catholic Majesty, would confirm all the calumnies of his enemies ; that the highest dignity of the Spanish monarchy, however valued, would not compensate for the loss of the honour he must incur by accepting it ; and that he trusted to his own innocence for his defence, against the unjust resentment of his master, and the fury of popular prejudice. Philip then entreated him to accept of a present of ten thousand ducats, which might be necessary for his support, till he could remove the prejudices raised against him ; promising, that it should be kept an entire secret, and that it should never come to the knowledge of his master. “ But there is one person,” replied this great man, “ who must necessarily know it ; he is the earl of Bristol, who will certainly reveal it to the king of England.”

As it was of the utmost importance for Buckingham to keep Bristol at a distance, both from the king and parliament, lest so powerful a speaker should open scenes, which it was for his interest to conceal, he extorted from James a warrant for sending Bristol to the Tower, which was immediately issued upon his arrival in England ; and though he was soon released, he received orders from the king to retire to his country-seat, and not to appear in parliament. He obeyed ; but loudly demanded an opportunity to lay his whole conduct before his master ; protested his innocence, and threw the blame of every miscarriage on his

his enemy. The prince and Buckingham declared, that they would be reconciled to him, if he would but acknowledge his ill conduct: but he was too zealous of his honour to buy favour at so high a price. The king observed, that their insisting on this condition, was an act of unexampled tyranny: but Buckingham, with his usual presumption, made no scruple to assert, that neither James, the prince, nor himself, were yet convinced of Bristol's innocence.

While the whole court was kept in awe by the timidity of James, with respect to changing his favourite, the Spanish ambassador endeavoured to cure his fears, by filling his mind with greater apprehensions; and privately slipped a paper into his hand, which he was to read alone. He there told him, that the prince and Buckingham had conspired together, and had the whole court at their devotion; that they proposed to confine him to some of his hunting-seats, and to commit the whole administration of affairs to his son. What credit James gave to this paper does not appear; for he only discovered some faint symptoms of displeasure at Buckingham, which he instantly retracted.

All James's public measures were now founded on his enmity to the Austrian family, and on the means of recovering the Palatinate. The United Provinces were now governed by prince Maurice, who being sensible that peace would hurt his credit, had, on the expiration of the twelve years truce, renewed the war with

with Spain. His great skill in conducting armies would have sufficiently compensated for the inferiority of his forces, had not those of Spain been commanded by Spinola, who was also distinguished by his conduct and activity. While the Dutch were in this situation, nothing could please them more than the rupture between James and Philip; and they flattered themselves, from the natural union of interest between them and England, with receiving powerful succours. Accordingly six thousand men were sent over to Holland, under the command of four young noblemen, Oxford, Essex, Southampton, and Willoughby, who were ambitious of distinguishing themselves, and acquiring experience under prince Maurice.

Religious zeal had made the recovery of the Palatinate appear a point of vast importance to the English; and the same effect might have been expected in France, merely from political views; for while that principality continued in the hands of the house of Austria, the French dominions were, on all sides, surrounded by the possessions of that ambitious family, and might be invaded on every side by superior forces. Of this, the court of France was fully sensible; but cardinal Richelieu was resolved first to subdue the Hugonots, before he proceeded to humble the house of Austria. However, the prospect of an alliance with England was readily embraced, by conciliating a marriage between prince Charles and the princess Henrietta Maria.

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Though James was fully sensible of the aversion of his subjects to an alliance with Catholics, he still thought that his son would be degraded by espousing a princess of less than royal extraction. Therefore after a rupture with Spain, he sought for this alliance with France. The portion promised was much inferior to that before offered by Spain; and he could not thence expect the peaceable restoration of the Palatinate. But James was unwilling that his son should be disappointed in a bride, and readily agreed, that as the infant was, by a verbal promise given by the prince, to have had the education of her children till they were thirteen years of age, this article was inserted in the treaty; and to that imprudence is generally imputed the present distressed condition of his posterity.

The conclusion of the marriage treaty was not more agreeable to the king, than all the military enterprizes were disagreeable. Heidelberg and Manheim had been taken by the Imperial forces, during the negociation with Spain; and Frankendale, though the garrison was entirely English, was closely besieged. After James had made repeated remonstrances, Philip interposed, and procured a suspension of arms during eighteen months: but Frankendale being the only place of Frederick's ancient dominions that was still in his hands, Ferdinand, who was desirous of withdrawing his forces from the Palatinate, was unwilling that so important a fortress should remain in the possession of his enemy. To remove all

disputes, it was agreed to put it into the hands of the infanta, as a neutral person, on condition of its being delivered to Frederick at the expiration of the truce concluded between him and Ferdinand: but after the unexpected rupture with Spain, a piece of chicanery was used to deprive the Palatine of this town, the last he had in his possession.

James's council were, however, not discouraged. It was resolved to reconquer the Palatinate, though it lay in the midst of Germany, and was not only surrounded by powerful enemies, but cut off from all communication with England. Count Mansfeldt was taken into pay, and an English army of twelve thousand foot and two hundred horse was raised. During the negotiation with France, the French ministry had, in general terms, made great promises, not only that the English troops should be granted a free passage, but that, in their march to the Palatinate, they should be joined by powerful succours: but when the troops, commanded by Mansfeldt, sailed from Dover to Calais, they found that no orders had arrived to permit their landing; and after waiting in vain during some time, they were obliged to sail towards Zealand, where proper measures for their disembarkation had been also neglected. The Zealanders excused themselves from receiving such a number of unexpected guests, on the pretence of the scarcity of provisions. During a tedious negotiation, in which messengers were sent to the Hague, and afterwards to London, a pestilential disease

ease spread among the English troops, so long cooped up in the ships, and carried off above two-thirds of them. Of the few who escaped the sickness, some deserted, and some enlisted themselves in the service of the States. Thus ended this ill-concerted expedition. This refusal of the Zealanders to allow the king's troops to land, was the second barbarous insult he had received from the Dutch: the first was the massacre of Amboyna; and it is probable, that this behaviour of the Zealanders arose from their fear of admitting so large a body of English troops, lest they should fall upon some method of revenging it.

In the East Indian spice-islands, from whence the Portuguese and Spaniards had been driven by the States, the English were, according to treaty, to enjoy a third part of the trade. Of the English factories settled in those parts, a few families lived at Amboyna, under the protection of a Dutch settlement. From rivalryship in trade, the Dutch were soon filled with ill-will towards the English; and pretending, that they had formed a design to destroy the Dutch, they seized them; and after examination, put them to a variety of the most cruel, and inhuman tortures: those who purchased relief by confession, retracted it with their dying breath: the greatest part, with unshaken fortitude, expired under their tortures; and the few who survived these cruelties, were sent out of the island, to other English plantations. Thus the English factory was destroyed, and the Dutch remained sole masters

of the trade. This catastrophe happening at a time when James was pushed on by the violent measures of his favourite, to a rupture with Spain, the friendship of the Dutch appeared to him too valuable, to hazard it by an ill-timed resentment; he therefore accepted of their excuses, and put up with this flagrant and cruel breach of faith, without exacting any kind of atonement.

While James was, in every instance, governed by his insolent favourite, and obliged to take measures extremely contrary to his inclinations, particularly to turn his thoughts on war, which he detested, and which he knew not how to conduct, he was seized with a tertian ague, which terminated in a fever. After some fits, he sent for the prince, whom he exhorted to have a tender affection for his wife; to be constant to his religion; to protect the church of England, and to extend his care to the Palatine's unhappy family. During the course of his illness, he was closely beset by Buckingham and his own family, who refused to permit the courtiers to see him till he was in his last agonies. Without the knowledge of his physicians, they applied a plaister to his side, and gave him a potion, the operation of which was followed by the fever, that terminated his days. He died on the twenty-seventh of March 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, leaving only one son, Charles, and his daughter Elizabeth, married to the elector Palatine. The circumstances attending the death of the king, with the critical situation
of

of Buckingham, gave rise to suspicions of the darkest nature; but a timely stop was put to the prosecution of enquiries, by the authority of Charles.

James was of a middle stature, and of a fair complexion: his person was plump, but not corpulent; his countenance disagreeable, his eyes being large and rolling, his beard thin, and his tongue too big for his mouth: he had an aukward air, and his gait was remarkably ungraceful, from a weakness in his knees, which prevented his walking without assistance: in his diet he was tolerably temperate, but drank little else besides rich and strong wines.

The virtues of this prince were so mixed with the vices that bordered upon them, as to exhibit no lights to set off the shades of his character. His generosity was tainted by a childish profusion, that prevented his paying his just obligations, and laid him under the necessity of attempting illegal and unjust methods of acquiring money. His friendship was directed by so puerile a fancy, that he chose the most contemptible objects, and lavished upon them unmerited favours; but he seldom advanced a man of merit to preferment.

While king of Scotland his behaviour was, in many points, unexceptionable; but the ridiculous and even profane flattery he received from many of the English nobility, raised in his mind such an high opinion of himself, as

debauched him from this circumspect conduct. Among the forwardest of these sycophants was Cecil, who, on his coming to the possession of the throne of England, had the assurance to tell him, that he should find his English subjects like asses, on whom he might lay any burthen, and should need neither bit nor bridle, but their asses ears. As he had a more learned education than is commonly bestowed on princes, he made pretensions to a consummate knowledge in divinity, politics, and the art of government, which procured him the vain flattering compliment of being the Solomon of the age, and has since exposed him to an high degree of ridicule. While his conduct shewed him extremely deficient in all these points, his romantic ideas of the natural rights of sovereign princes, made him publicly own his pretensions, which filled the minds of his people with an incurable jealousy; and this, with the affectation of dissembling, which he called king-craft, rendered him the object of fear and distrust. Yet, in his conversation, he descended to buffoonery, and suffered his favourites to address him in the grossest terms of licentious familiarity, while those he himself used were no less familiar, and affectedly absurd and childish.

James is also to be considered as an author; and his works principally consist of several tracts, which are still extant, and are printed in one volume folio. These are an attempt to prove that monarchs have a right to be absolute; on the heinous sin of taking tobacco; on witchcraft,

witchcraft, &c. " There is not the least sus-
 " picion, says Mr. Walpole*, that the folio
 " under the name of James I. is not of his
 " composition; for though Roger Ascham may
 " have corrected or assisted periods of his illu-
 " strious pupil, no body can imagine that Bu-
 " chanan dictated a word of the *Dæmonologia*,
 " or of the polite treatise, intituled, a Counter-
 " blast to Tobacco. Quotations, puns, scrip-
 " ture, witticisms, superstitions, oaths, vanity,
 " prerogative and pedantry, the ingredients of
 " all his sacred majesty's performances, were
 " the pure produce of his own capacity, and
 " deserving all the incense offered to such im-
 " mense erudition by the divines of his age,
 " and the flatterers of his court. The king's
 " speech is always supposed by parliament to
 " be the speech of the minister; but how cruel
 " would it have been in king James's ministers,
 " if that interpretation had prevailed in his
 " reign! His majesty also published his Poeti-
 " cal Exercises at vacant hours, in the preface
 " to which he condescends to make an excuse
 " for their incorrectness, as having been writ-
 " ten in his youth, and his having had no
 " time to correct them afterwards; so that,
 " *when his ingyne and age could, his affaires and*
 " *facherie would not permit him to correct them,*
 " *scarslie, but at stolen moments, he having the*
 " *leisure to blenk upon any paper:* however, he
 " bribes the reader's approbation, by promising,
 " if these are well received, to present him

* In his Royal and Noble Authors.

" with

“ with his Apocalypse and Psalms. His ma-
 “ jesty also wrote an encomium on Sir Philip
 “ Sidney, some verses prefixed to Tycho
 “ Brahe’s works, and began a Translation of
 “ the Psalms. Several other pieces are as-
 “ cribed to him, and many of his Letters are
 “ extant; several of them in the Cabala,
 “ others in manuscript in the British Museum,
 “ and others in Howard’s Collection.”

MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS.

Fifteenths and subsidies have been frequent-
 ly mentioned in this and the foregoing reigns.
 The tax called a fifteenth, originally corres-
 ponded to the name, and was the value of a
 fifteenth part of the moveables. But a valua-
 tion made in the reign of Edward III. being
 always adhered to, each town constantly paid a
 particular sum, assessed by the inhabitants
 themselves. The same tax in corporate towns
 was called a tenth, because there it was a tenth
 of the moveables; but both together were
 concisely termed a fifteenth, when the produce
 of the whole was mentioned, and throughout
 the kingdom, it amounted to about twenty-nine
 thousand pounds. A subsidy was not invariable
 like a fifteenth: for, in the eighth of Eliza-
 beth, a subsidy amounted to a hundred and
 twenty thousand pounds: in the fortieth of the
 same reign, it was not above seventy-eight
 thousand: it afterwards fell to seventy thou-
 sand; and was continually decreasing. This
 was owing to the method of levying it. One
 subsidy was originally given for four shillings

in the pound on land, and two-shillings and eight-pence on moveables, throughout the counties; which, when the nation was enriched by trade, would have amounted to a considerable tax, had it been strictly levied: but during the reign of James, the twentieth part of that sum was not paid. The tax was so far personal, that a man paid only in the county where he lived, though he possessed estates in other counties; the assessor forming a loose estimation of his property, and rating him accordingly. However, to preserve some rule in the estimation, it appears to have been the practice to keep an eye to former assessments, and to rate every man according to his ancestors, or according to what men of such estimated property were accustomed to pay. This was a sufficient reason why subsidies could not encrease, notwithstanding the encrease of money, and the rise of rents. In short, subsidies at last became so unequal and uncertain, that the parliament was obliged to change them into a land-tax*.

By a proclamation of James for establishing public magazines, whenever wheat fell below thirty-two shillings a quarter, rye below eighteen, and barley below sixteen, the commissioners were empowered to purchase corn for the magazines†. These prices then are to be considered as low, though, by our present estimation, they would rather pass for high. At

* Hume.

† Rymer, vol. xvii. page 526.

this time, the usual bread of the poor was made of barley. During the greatest part of James's reign, the best wool was at thirty three shillings a tod : at present, it is not above two-thirds of that value ; though our exports in woollen goods are, doubtless, encreased. By the progress of arts and industry, the finer manufactures, notwithstanding the great encrease of money, have rather diminished in price. In Shakespear, Falstaff is told by his hostess, that the shirts she bought him were of holland, at eight shillings a yard, which is a high price at present, even supposing, what is scarce probable, that the best holland was then equal in goodness to the best that can now be purchased *.

At this time, the public were free from the expence of a standing army ; and while James was boasting his divine vicegerency, he had not a single regiment of guards. The sole defence of the kingdom was the militia of England, which amounted to a hundred and sixty thousand men, who were kept in good order ; for all the counties of England emulating the capital, were fond of shewing a well trained militia. The city of London procured officers who had served abroad, and who taught the trained bands their exercises in the artillery garden. The very boys, at this time, mimicked their elders, enlisted themselves voluntarily into companies, elected officers, and practised the discipline, of which the models were every day

* Hume.

exposed

exposed to their view *. In 1583, there was a general review made of all the men in England, capable of bearing arms; and these, according to Raleigh, were found to amount to 1,172,000 men.

The growth of London in riches, beauty, and in the number of its inhabitants, has been prodigious: from 1600, it doubled every forty years †; consequently, in 1680, it contained four times as many inhabitants as at the beginning of the century. It was at this time almost entirely built of wood, and in every respect a very disagreeable city. The earl of Arundell first introduced the general practice of erecting buildings of brick ‡.

As coaches were first seen in England in Elizabeth's reign, the first sedan chair was seen in that of James, and was used by the duke of Buckingham. The people, on seeing him carried in his chair, were filled with indignation at his pride and arrogance, and exclaimed, that he made his fellow creatures do the service of beasts.

At this period, all the seamen employed in the merchants service appear to have amounted to only ten thousand men, which probably does not exceed the fifth part of their present number. Raleigh observes, that the Dutch traded to England with six hundred ships, and England to Holland with only sixty. Almost all the curious arts were cultivated abroad, parti-

* Stowe.

† Sir William Petty.

‡ Sir Edward Walker's political discourses, p. 270.

cularly in Italy; and the English only excelled in ship-building, and the founding of iron cannon. Nine-tenths of the commerce of England consisted in woollen goods; yet the exportation of wool was not prohibited till the nineteenth year of this reign. Most of the cloth was exported raw, and was dyed and dressed by the Dutch, who are said to have gained seven hundred thousand pounds a year by this manufacture; and Raleigh computes the loss to England at four hundred thousand pounds. Yet a proclamation published by James against exporting cloth in that condition, succeeded so ill, on account of the Dutch refusing to buy the dressed cloth, that great murmurs arose against it; and this measure was retracted by the king, the nation complaining of it, as if it had been the most impolitic thing in the world. English cloth was then in so little credit, that the king was obliged to seek expedients to engage the people of fashion to wear it.

The manufacture of fine linen was, in this reign, entirely unknown in the kingdom; nor had the silk manufacture any footing in England.

Greenland being discovered, the whale fishery was, at first, carried on with great success; but the Dutch soon deprived the English of this source of wealth. A company was now erected for the discovery of the north-west passage, and many fruitless attempts were made for that purpose. In this reign the East-India company received a new patent; and enlarging their

their stock to 1,500,000*l.* fitted out several ships on these adventures; and in this reign Virginia, and the Bermuda or Summer Islands, were settled.

The exports of England, from Christmas 1612 to Christmas 1613, are computed at 2,487,435*l.*: the imports at 2,141,151*l.*; so that the balance in favour of England was 346,284*l.*; but in 1622, the imports were 2,320,436*l.* the imports 2,619,315; which make a balance of 298,879*l.* against England. The East India company usually carried out a third of their cargo in commodities. The trade to Turkey was one of the most gainful to the nation.

Tradesmen had hitherto carried on their retail business chiefly by means of leaden tokens. The silver penny, which had the cross deeply indented, had been broke in half, and passed for half-pennies, or half-pence; and those halves broke again into four things or farthings; but copper half-pence and farthings began to be coined in this reign, in order to supply this small money, which was easily lost. Interest was at ten per cent. till the year 1624, when it was reduced to eight.

As this was the age of bigotry, and the light of reason had not yet spread its influence over the minds of men, religious liberty was still unknown, and no toleration was allowed for persons who entertained opinions widely different from those publicly established. Two Arians were burned during this period; and no reign since the reformation was free from

the like barbarities. Stowe observes, that these Arians were offered a pardon at the stake, on condition of their making a recantation. The established worship was the only one allowed during this and the former reign; and twenty pounds a month might be levied on any one who did not frequent it. The national religion was established by Elizabeth, and though many of the members, both among the clergy and laity, thought it approached too near to popery, they still adhered to the established worship. These were the Puritans, who were at this time members of the church of England, though they disliked some of its forms and ceremonies; but they had yet no separate congregations. Such of the clergy as refused to comply with the legal ceremonies, were deprived of their livings; and sometimes, in Elizabeth's reign, otherwise punished; nor was it safe for any man to speak against the established worship. The idea that man was accountable to the supreme Being alone for his religious sentiments, and that it was his duty to believe the doctrines that appeared to him to have the evidence of truth, and to worship God, according to the dictates of his conscience, were not publickly known.

The liberty of the press being incompatible with those principles of government which then prevailed, was also unknown. Elizabeth had laid the greatest restraints on the press; and the severest penalties were inflicted on those who presumed to write against an established sentiment,

sentiment, with respect either to religion or politics. James extended the same penalties to the importing of such books from abroad, and afterwards prohibited the printing of any book without permission from the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, the bishop of London, or the vice-chancellor of one of the universities, or of some person appointed by them.

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C H A P.

CHAP. II.

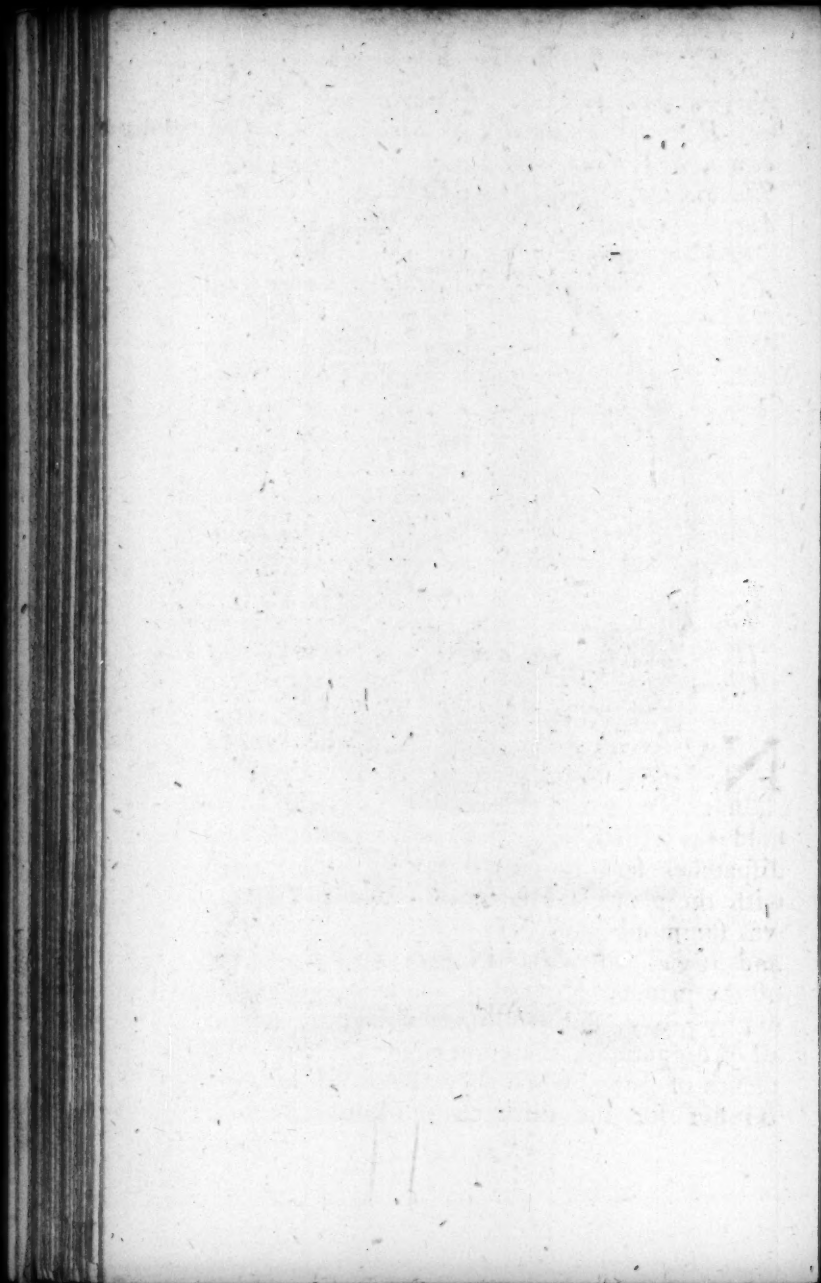
CHARLES I.

The Accession of Charles. Naval Expedition against Spain. Various Acts of Tyranny. Impeachment of Buckingham. Various Methods by which Supplies were obtained without an Act of Parliament, and among the rest, a general Loan demanded. Expedition to the Isle of Rhee. Petition of Right. Death of Buckingham. Dr. Leighton's cruel Punishment. Laud's Innovations in the Church. Arbitrary Methods of raising Money. Other Severities in the Star-chamber and High-commission Court. Ship Money, and the Trial of Hampden. An Attempt to introduce the Liturgy in Scotland. Episcopacy abolished by the Scots. The King and the Scots prepare for War. A Pacification. Preparations for another War. Rout at Newburn. Treaty at Rippon. Meeting of the long Parliament. Impeachment of Strafford and Laud. Patents for Monopolies cancelled. Ship Money declared illegal. Strafford's Trial and Execution. High Commission and Star-chamber abolished. The King's Journey to Scotland. Conspiracy and Massacre in Ireland. Lord Kimbolton and five Members of the Lower House impeached. The King goes to the House to seize them. Tumults. The King



CHARLES I.

J. Collyer sc.



King arrives in York. Preparations for a civil War. The Battles of Stratton, Landf-down, and Roundway-down. Bristol taken. The Siege of Gloucester. The Battle of Newbury. Invasion of the Scots. Battles of Marston-Moor, and Cropredy-bridge. The second Battle of Newbury. The Treaty of Uxbridge. The Execution of Laud. Montrose's Victories. The Battle of Naseby. The surrender of Bristol. The West conquered by Fairfax. The Defeat of Montrose. The King goes to the Scots at Newark. His being delivered up by the Scots. The Mutiny of the Army, who subdue the Parliament. The King flies to the Isle of Wight. The second civil War. Invasion from Scotland. The Treaty of Newport. The civil War, and Invasion repressed. The King again seized by the Army. The House purged. The King's Trial, Death, and Character.

NO sooner had death closed the eyes of James, than his son Charles was proclaimed king; and the very next day the household was settled, a parliament summoned, and dispatches sent to hasten the king's marriage with the princess Henrietta. The parliament was summoned to meet on the seventh of May; and it was not without regret that the arrival of the princess Henrietta, whom he had espoused by proxy, obliged him to delay, by repeated prorogations, their meeting till the eighteenth of June, when they assembled at Westminster for the dispatch of business. The

young prince regarding, as sincere, all the praises and caresses with which he had been loaded, while in opposition to his father, he was active in procuring the rupture with Spain, hasted with alacrity to a period when he might receive the most undoubted testimony of the dutiful attachment of his subjects. The commons, after mentioning some grievances not redressed, and demanding an account of the last money granted for the recovery of the Palatinate, being restrained from keeping together, by the raging of the plague, and unwilling to give a total denial to their young king, granted him two subsidies, and petitioned for a recess; on which account they were adjourned to meet on the first of August at Oxford.

From the smallness of this supply, it is evident that they had already entertained a strong jealousy of the present government. No change had been made in the administration since the death of James: Charles had the same favourite, the same ministers, and all the offices of the kingdom, continued in the hands of Buckingham's creatures. His influence over Charles exceeded even that which he had acquired over the weakness of James; and every public measure was conducted by his advice and direction. The hatred of the people had been suspended for a moment, while the duke's conduct seemed to gratify their prejudices; but it was impossible for him long to preserve their affections. They now found that the zeal of Charles and Buckingham sprang from a particular pique
against

against Spain, and that they had contracted an alliance with a court no less hated. A chapel had been built at Somerset-house, for the queen and her family, with conveniencies adjoining to it, for the capuchin friars, who were permitted to walk abroad in their habits. Buckingham, prompted by the vehemence of his temper, had suddenly raised his flatterers and dependents to the highest elevation; and the whole power of the kingdom was grasped by his insatiable hand. He engrossed the entire confidence of his master, and was himself possessed of the most considerable offices of the crown. Besides, the extraordinary supply granted to the crown by the last parliament, and the bad management of its first military attempt, convinced the commons, that the ministry were not to be trusted with so important a business as war; and the speech of the lord-keeper, which represented, that the subsidies were not only spent, but the revenue in debt, did not a little contribute to confirm them in this opinion.

Before the parliament assembled at Oxford, an incident happened which inflamed the resentment of the English. The French ministry had cajoled James into a promise to furnish Lewis with one ship of war, and seven armed merchant ships, to be employed against the Genoese. Buckingham, however, prevailed on Charles to lend these ships to the French, to be used against the Protestants at the siege of Rochelle, where they were to be filled with French foldiers and mariners, commanded by
the

the duke de Montmorency. This was no sooner known, than the whole crew mutinied. Vice-admiral Pennington declared, that he would rather be hanged in England for disobedience, than fight against his brother Protestants in France; and notwithstanding the repeated menaces and promises of the French, he refused to deliver up the ships, and sailed back to the Downs. They there received new orders from Buckingham, lord admiral, to return to Diepe. As the duke was sensible, that authority alone was not sufficient to engage the commanders in an action so repugnant to conscience and honour, a rumour was spread, that a peace had been concluded between the French king and his Protestant subjects. On their return to Diepe, they found that they had been deceived. The captains of the merchant ships now maintained, that the king had no right to dispose of their property, and prepared to sail away; but Pennington, who could no longer plead a misunderstanding of his orders, fired, to bring them to; yet the brave Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded one of the vessels, broke through, and returned to England. The remaining ships were delivered to the French: but all the officers and seamen, notwithstanding the great offers made them, immediately deserted; and not one individual, except a gunner, would serve against their distressed brethren the French Protestants. This transaction entirely dissipated the popularity which every monarch obtains at the beginning of his reign.

When

When the parliament met at Oxford, the commons renewed their complaints on the grievances of the nation, and determined against granting a supply, without an effectual reformation of the government: on which the king, taking advantage of the plague, which began to appear at Oxford, under that pretence immediately dissolved them.

To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles had now recourse to the old oppressive expedient of forcing a loan from his subjects; and privy seals were issued out to all persons of substance. By means of this supply, the king was enabled to equip a fleet of eighty vessels, in which were embarked ten thousand land forces. The chief command was entrusted to Sir Edward Cecil, lately created viscount Wimbledon, a creature of Buckingham's, to the neglect of Sir Robert Mansel, an old sea officer, who was in great esteem with the people. On his sailing to Cadiz, the bay was found to be full of ships of great value; yet these, through the neglect of the commanders, were suffered to escape. The army was then landed, and a fort taken; but the undisciplined soldiers finding store of wine, could not be restrained from drinking to excess. After this unfortunate beginning, the whole force reembarked, and the fleet put to sea, in order to intercept the Spanish galleons; but the plague having seized the seamen and the soldiers, they abandoned all hopes, and returned to England. This unsuccessful and ill-conducted attempt, increased the clamour against the ministry.

During

During the course of the late expedition, Buckingham and the earl of Holland were sent to the Hague, to negotiate a treaty with the Dutch, and to confer with the ambassadors of the kings of Sweden and Denmark, who had joined in the confederacy against Spain. The Dutch had entered heartily into the cause, and had lent an assistance of ships to the late expedition. To supply the present exigencies of the war, the duke had taken with him the crown jewels, and pawned them in Holland, for the sum of three hundred thousand pounds. Hence, when the fleet returned, Charles issued out a proclamation to prohibit the soldiers from leaving their colours; and trusting to the expedient of nominating several popular gentlemen sheriffs in the counties, he ventured to call a parliament. Yet four days before the meeting of this national assembly, Charles had the imprudence to add to the disgust of the public, by exacting the obsolete tribute of knights-fees from all who possessed forty pounds a year.

The parliament, which met on the sixth of February, 1626, immediately entered upon public grievances: the miscarriage of the fleet to Cadiz, the evil counsellors about the king, and the misemployment and waste of the king's revenue. It was resolved, that a committee for secret affairs, and another for grievances, should sit every Wednesday and Friday during this parliament; and an act was tendered and read, to administer an oath for rendering a true account of all general and public taxes, rates, and collections.

While

While the parliament was thus employed, they received an importunate message from the king, expressing the infinite prejudice the public affairs must receive, by their longer delaying the supplies. But the commons not thinking it prudent to trust the money in the hands of Buckingham, at the very time when they were proceeding against him, sent the king an answer, that they were firmly assured, that he would accept of and follow the faithful advice of his parliament, and that on this consideration, they intended to assist him in so ample a manner, as should render him safe at home, and feared abroad. Charles was greatly offended at this message, which shewed their determined resolution to give no assistance towards the occasions of the war, till he had chosen a ministry, on whom they could place an entire confidence. He therefore wrote them an answer, in which he told them, that he was as willing to hear their grievances as any of his predecessors; and added, "I must let you know, that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you; much less such as are of eminent state, and near unto me." This produced no effect on the measures of the commons, who, though they voted the king three subsidies and three fifteenths, declared, that the act should not be brought in, till the grievances were presented and answered. They then resumed their debates concerning the impeachment of Buckingham, and ordered him to have notice of the charges brought against him.

Buck-

Buckingham became every day more odious, by his want of temper and prudence, and by the ill concerted measures in which he engaged his master. Whence he was obliged, this session, to sustain two violent attacks; one from the house of commons, and the other from the earl of Bristol. That nobleman, secure of the concealed favour of James, had expressed the utmost duty and obedience, in hopes of his being soon restored to his former credit; and after Charles's accession, had submitted to the king's commands, to remain at his country-seat, and to absent himself from parliament: but having made many fruitless attempts to regain Charles's favour, and finding him to be entirely governed by Buckingham, his implacable enemy, he resolved no longer to keep any measures with the court, and petitioned the house of lords, craving their good offices with the king, for obtaining his right as a peer of the realm. His writ was then sent him, accompanied with a letter from the lord-keeper, Coventry, commanding him, in the king's name, to absent himself from parliament. Bristol sent this letter to the lords, entreating their advice, how he should proceed in so critical a situation. This occasioned the king's prohibition being withdrawn; but the court being highly provoked, the attorney-general was ordered to enter against him an accusation of high treason. Bristol, by way of recrimination, impeached Buckingham of the same crime; and both the earl's defence of himself, and the accusation of the duke, which are still extant

extant, contain a full and authentic account of all the negociations with Spain, and of the duke's measures, with respect to breaking off the marriage.

The impeachment of the commons was reduced to regular articles. They accused him of having united many offices in his own person; of neglecting to guard the seas, by which means many merchant-ships had fallen into the hands of the enemy; of delivering ships to the French king, to be employed against the Protestants; of obtaining immense grants of money and lands from the king for himself and his kindred, to the impairing the royal revenue, and impoverishing the crown; of selling honours and offices, and of administering physic to the late king, without the knowledge of his physician.

While the commons were thus warmly engaged against Buckingham, the king embraced every opportunity, by which he could express his contempt for them. The earl of Suffolk, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, dying, Buckingham, though lying under impeachment, was, by the influence of the court, chosen chancellor in his room. The commons loudly complained of this affront; and the king himself, to encrease their resentment, wrote a letter to the university, in which he extolled the duke, and thanked them for electing him. The lord-keeper expressly commanded the house, in the king's name, not to meddle with Buckingham, his minister and servant; and ordered them to finish, in a few

days, the bill in relation to the subsidies, and to make some addition to them; otherwise they must not expect to sit any longer. Charles afterwards went so far, in a message to the commons, as to threaten them, that if they did not furnish him with supplies, he should be obliged to try new counsels. Though this language was sufficiently clear, yet least any ambiguity should remain, Sir Dudley Carleton took care to explain it, by observing, that parliaments were anciently in use in all Christian kingdoms, till the kings knowing their own strength, and observing the turbulent spirit of those assemblies, at last overthrew them. The commons thought that a precarious liberty, preserved by unlimited complaisance, was no liberty at all; and resolved, while it was yet in their power, to secure the constitution by such invincible barriers, that no king or minister, should, for the future, ever utter such language to any parliament. Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliot, two members who had been employed as managers of the impeachment against the duke being thrown into prison, the commons declared, that they would proceed no farther on business, till they had obtained satisfaction with respect to their privileges. Charles alledged, that this measure proceeded from certain seditious expressions, with which these members were charged in their accusation of the duke. But it being fully proved, that no such expressions had been used, the members were released; and the king reap-
ed

ed no farther benefit from this attempt, than to exasperate the house still farther.

The lords, moved by this example, claimed liberty for the earl of Arundel, who had been lately imprisoned in the Tower; and after many fruitless evasions, the king, though somewhat ungracefully, was at last obliged to comply.

The commons then sent up a petition to the king, on his not having performed his promise to the parliament at Oxford, to remove from all places of authority such persons as were convicted or suspected of popery. Charles enraged at this reproof, wrote a letter to the speaker, in which he required him to signify to the house, that he expected the bill of subsidies to be brought in forthwith, without delay or condition; if not, it would force him to take other resolutions. The commons returned a respectful but spirited answer, with a petition for the removal of the duke of Buckingham from the royal presence. This petition made Charles determine to dissolve the parliament. When this resolution was known, the house of peers endeavoured to interpose, and petitioned the king to allow the parliament to sit some time longer; but he hastily replied, "Not a moment longer;" and soon after ended the session by dissolution.

As the commons had foreseen this measure, they had drawn up a remonstrance against the duke of Buckingham; against the imprisonment of their members; and the illegal taking of tonnage and poundage, without consent of

parliament. The king likewise, on his part, published a declaration, containing the reasons of his disagreement with the parliament, and of their being suddenly dissolved, before they had time to conclude any one act. The partizans on both sides were furnished by these papers with ample matter of apology or recrimination. The impartial part of the kingdom judged, that the commons were insensibly changing and improving the spirit and genius of the constitution; and that the king was acting without any plan; running on in a road surrounded on all sides with the most dangerous precipices, without concerting proper measures, either for subduing or submitting to the steadiness of the commons.

At the same time that the king published his declaration, a proclamation was issued for suppressing the remonstrance of the commons. Though that assembly had so resolutely opposed the haughty demands of the king, it is very apparent, that had he condescended to drop his unpopular attachment, and to retract his arbitrary messages and speeches, their grants would have been liberal: for after the impeachment was settled, they had added a fourth subsidy to the three already voted, when the king's last peremptory letter gave an entire change to their debates, and produced the petition against Buckingham, which occasioned the hasty dissolution of the parliament.

The threat which Charles had made to the commons, of new counsels, was now put in execution; and the privy-council, which was composed

composed of servile dependents on Buckingham, made no difficulty in resolving, that the king might continue to take duties upon goods and merchandize, in the same manner as had been levied in the late reign; and a proclamation was issued, commanding the subjects to submit to this tax, under the penalty of imprisonment. A commission was also openly granted, to compound with the Catholics for dispensing with the penal laws enacted against them. A loan of a hundred thousand pounds having been refused by the citizens of London, that city, and all the maritime towns, were required to provide a certain number of armed ships. Both the city of London, which was rated at twenty ships, and the deputy lieutenants and justices of the peace of Dorsetshire, remonstrated against the imposition; but were sharply reproved by the council, and told, that state occasions, and the defence of the kingdom, in times of extraordinary danger, were not to be guided by ordinary precedents; and that precedents were not wanting for the punishment of those who disobeyed his majesty's command, signified by that board; and these threats terrified the parties into immediate submission. Of some, loans were required; and to others, the way of benevolence was proposed: methods supported by precedent, but all of them invidious, even in more submissive and complying times.

These methods of obtaining a supply were conducted with some degree of moderation, till news arrived, that a great battle was fought

between the king of Denmark and count Tilly, the Imperial general, in which the former was defeated. Money became now more than ever necessary, in order to support a prince so nearly allied to Charles, and who had been engaged in the war chiefly by the intrigues, solicitations, and promises of the English. After some deliberation, an act of council was passed for a *general loan* from the subject, according as every man was assessed in the rolls of the last subsidy. That precise sum was required, which each would have paid, had the vote of four subsidies and three-fifteenths of the last parliament passed into a law: but the people were informed, that the sums exacted were not to be termed subsidies, but loans. The commissioners appointed to levy these loans, were enjoined among other articles of secret instructions, that if any should refuse to lend, make delays or excuses, they should be examined upon oath, whether any one had persuaded them to it; who it was; and what persuasions were used for that purpose. A violent inquisitorial power, which filled the people, in general, with indignation.

That the civil authority might be supported by religious prejudices, some sermons, preached by Manwaring and Sibthorpe, in favour of the general loan, were spread by the court over the whole kingdom. Passive obedience, in its full extent, was there recommended; and all the authority of the state, represented as centering in the king alone, while the limitations of law, and of the constitution, were represented

sented as seditious and impious. This doctrine was so openly espoused by the king, that arch-bishop Abbot, a virtuous and popular prelate, was suspended from the exercise of his office, and confined to one of his country-seats, only for refusing to license Sibthorpe's sermon. Abbot's principles of liberty, and opposition to Buckingham, had created him the ill-will of the court, and acquired him the character of a Puritan: for it is remarkable, that this party were as strenuous in the defence of the privileges of the nation, as the zealous churchmen were of the prerogatives of the crown.

While Charles, influenced by his resentment and his necessities, thus violently stretched his prerogative, the spirit of the people was far from being subdued. Many refused the above loans, and some even exerted themselves, in persuading their neighbours to insist upon their common rights and privileges. These were thrown into prison, by warrants from the council. Most of them either patiently submitted to confinement, or petitioned the king, who commonly released them. Five gentlemen alone, Sir Edmund Hampden, Sir John Hevingham, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Corbet, and Sir Thomas Darnel, had the spirit to stand the resentment of the ministry, and to defend, by a legal process, the liberties of their country.

The question, whether a subject could be confined by the special command of the king and council, without assigning the cause, was brought to a solemn trial before the king's-bench, in November 1626, in the case of Sir
John

John Corbet; and the whole kingdom was attentive to the issue, as an affair of much greater consequence than the event of many battles.

The debates on this subject opened the eyes of the public, to the knowledge of their just rights, and of the violation those rights had suffered, by an uninterrupted series of illegal exertions of power. They now saw, that their ancestors had been so jealous of personal liberty, as to secure it against arbitrary power, by six several statutes, and even by an article of the Great Charter, the most sacred barrier of the laws and constitution. The kings of England, who had been unable to prevent the enacting of these laws, had sufficient power, when the tide of liberty was spent, to hinder their regular execution; and though rebellious subjects had frequently resisted the king's authority in the open field, none had ever before the courage, while confined and at mercy, bravely to stand forth in opposition to regal power, and to claim the protection of the constitution, against the will of the sovereign. It was not till this age, says Hume, when the spirit of liberty was universally diffused, when the principles of government were nearly reduced to a system, when the tempers of men, more civilized, seemed less to require these violent exertions of prerogative, that these five gentlemen, by a noble effort, ventured in this national cause, to bring the question to a final determination. And the king was astonished at finding, that the power exercised by his predecessors, almost without interruption, was found,

found, upon trial, to be directly opposite to the clearest laws, and supported by few undoubted precedents, in courts of judicature.

But imprisonment was not the only punishment made use of to awe the discontented nation: soldiers were billeted on all persons of substance, who, by their words and actions, had refused or delayed the loan. The poorer sort were pressed into the fleet and army. Sir Peter Hayman, for the same reason, was dispatched on a frivolous errand to the Palatinate; and Glanville, an eminent lawyer, but obnoxious to the crown, had been obliged, during the former interval of parliament, to accept of an office in the navy. The cognizance of offences were taken out of the proper courts, and judicial decisions rendered arbitrary in matters of life and death. The soldiers, ill paid and undisciplined, committed many crimes and outrages, and greatly encreased the public discontents. To prevent these disorders, martial law was enforced, and the lives of the soldiers put in the power of their officers; on which the people, who had complained of the outrages of the army, now thought the remedy still more intolerable: for though the expediency of martial law had been formerly deemed a sufficient ground for establishing it, men were become more jealous of liberty, and now regarded, as illegal and arbitrary, every exercise of authority that was not supported by express statutes, or uninterrupted precedents.

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It may be affirmed with the greatest certainty, that all men, except a few courtiers and ecclesiastics, were displeased at these high exertions of prerogative. Though, in defence of the king's measures, ancient precedents were pleaded; upon a comparison, a considerable difference was observed between the cases. Irregular acts of power might casually be exercised by a prince to answer a present purpose; and yet liberty still subsist, in some tolerable degree, under his administration: but where all these were reduced into a system, were exerted without interruption, were studiously sought for, in order to supply the place of laws, and subdue the refractory spirit of the nation; it was necessary to find some speedy remedy, or finally to abandon all hopes of preserving the freedom of the constitution. Nor could moderate men esteem the provocation, which the king had received, sufficient to warrant all these violent measures. The commons had not yet invaded his authority, but had only exercised their own privileges*; and even supposing that he had met with harsh and unkind treatment from one house of parliament, it could give him no right to seek revenge, by invading the rights and liberties of the whole nation.

Had Charles made use of the money he had tyrannically extorted from his subjects, to support the king of Denmark, who had been enticed into the German quarrel, by his pro-

* Hume,

mises and importunities, he would, in this particular, have answered the expectations of the public; but to the astonishment of all men, a squadron, which had been sent to lie in the mouth of the Elbe, was recalled; and the passage by the Sound, to the king of Denmark's dominions, left undefended. At the same time, to the surprize of all men, Charles, though baffled in every attempt against the Austrian dominions, though embroiled with his own subjects, and without any other treasure than what was extorted by the most invidious and most dangerous measures, wantonly attacked France, before he had accommodated matters with the house of Austria. If we trace the incentives to a step so extravagantly imprudent, we shall find them all centered in the levity of the impetuous Buckingham, who was actuated by motives which would appear incredible, were we not sufficiently acquainted with the violence and temerity of his character.

The splendor with which Buckingham was surrounded, on his being dispatched to France to conduct Henrietta Maria into England, did not a little dazzle a court apt to be pleased with gay appearances. This, with the importance of his employment, had caused his reception to be more than ordinary magnificent, friendly, and gracious. In the midst of those scenes of gaiety, pleasure and dissipation, produced on this occasion, he was inspired, by some favourable glances, with the hopes of entering into an amorous intrigue with no less a personage than Anne of Austria, the young
queen

queen of France, who is said to have been extremely taken with the splendid appearance and familiar manners of the English favourite. The progress of his amour was disappointed, by the watchful Richelieu; but Buckingham, with a temerity peculiar to himself, left Henrietta Maria at Boulogne on a slight pretence, and returning to Amiens, had a secret interview with the French queen, who had accompanied her sister-in-law thus far on her journey. This coming to Lewis's ears, the queen's domestics were dismissed, and that prince was filled with the highest resentment, at Buckingham's unparalleled insolence. Afterwards, when the duke was, on a frivolous pretence, making preparations for another embassy to Paris, a message was sent him from Lewis, that he must not think of such a journey. Upon which, in a romantic passion, he swore, *that he would see the queen in spite of all the power of France*; and from that moment, resolved to engage England in a war with that kingdom.

He was soon supplied with pretences for this purpose; Charles had, on several occasions, been extremely ill used by the French court. It was with difficulty he had obtained the restoration of his ships, after they had performed the stipulated service at Rochelle. Though Lewis had given him hopes, that he would enter heartily into the alliance against the Austrian family, yet this was no farther prosecuted, than was necessary to make an advantageous treaty with the court of Spain. Charles's resentment of these provocations was heightened

ed by the treatment he had met with from his own queen; who, from the first of their union, had treated him with insupportable insolence. On her first arrival, she was but sixteen years of age; but was distinguished by her beauty, her zeal for the Romish religion, and her quickness in repartee. She disputed with him on all points, and asserted, that he had no right to advise her in the nomination of her domestics, or the management of her household; and displeased him, by performing a ridiculous penance, which she had been enjoined by her priests, to walk bare-foot to Tyburn, there to pay devotion to the martyrs who had suffered in the popish cause: these, with the absurd pretensions of her French attendants, obliged Charles to shew his resentment, by dismissing them from their mistress's service, and sending them out of his dominions.

The duke de Soubize, who, with his brother the duke of Rohan, was the leader of the Hugonot party in France, was then in London, and warmly solicited Charles to embrace the protection of these distressed Protestants. He represented, that after the combined squadrons of England and Holland had repressed the inhabitants of Rochelle, and the French king had concluded a peace with them under Charles's mediation, the ambitious Richelieu was still meditating the destruction of the Hugonots; that in every province of France, preparations were silently making for the suppression of their religion; that the reformed in France cast their

eyes on him, as the head of their faith; and considered him as engaged by interest, as well as inclination, to support them; that while their party subsisted, he might rely on their obedience, as much as on that of his own subjects; but if their liberties were once ravished from them, the power of France would soon become formidable to England, and to all the neighbouring states.

Though the king had, probably, no great affection to the Hugonots, who, in religion and politics, so much resembled the Puritans, he allowed himself to be gained by these arguments, enforced by the solicitation of Buckingham. A fleet of a hundred sail, with seven thousand land forces, were fitted out for the invasion of France; and both of them entrusted to the command of the duke, who was entirely unacquainted both with land and sea service. The fleet appeared before Rochelle, when the inhabitants shut their gates, and refused to admit allies, of whose coming they were not previously informed. The same incapacity and inexperience, appeared in all his other military operations. Instead of attacking Oleron, an island fertile and defenceless, he steered to the isle of Rhee, which was well fortified, and had a good garrison. He there landed his men, though with some loss, and was advised by Soubize, to take advantage of the panic of the French, and immediately attack the citadel of St. Martin; but neglecting this advice, he lost five days in fortifying himself, and making preparations to carry on the
attack

attack in a regular manner; in which time, that fort was victualled and provided for a siege. At length he began the attack, but neglected to take a small fort which stood upon the shore, named la Prie, and immediately sent such sanguinary assurances to Charles, that a proclamation was prematurely issued for encouraging the English to transport themselves and their families to the isle of Rhee; but the progress of his conquest was at a stand, and Buckingham, after several fruitless attacks, was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade. His army was now recruited with sixteen hundred men from Ireland, and five hundred from the Rochellers, who, by the persuasion of Soubize, had declared for the English, while Charles was preparing a large reinforcement to be sent from England. The French had, by this time, recovered from their surprize; and though Buckingham might have speedily reduced them, by making himself master of a well, from whence the inhabitants drew all their water, this was neglected, and the enemy suffered to secure themselves in the possession of it. The length of time spent in the siege, gave the French an opportunity to collect, by the assistance of the Spaniards, so large a naval force, that their fleet exceeded that of the English. By means of this fleet, and the advantage they obtained from the possession of fort la Prie, they landed so large a body of forces, that Buckingham began to think of a retreat. Soubize strongly represented to him, the distresses this would bring upon the French

Protestants in general, and particularly upon the Rochellers; who, on the faith of England, had at length declared for the allies, and thus drawn upon themselves the severe resentment of their monarch. The duke de Rohan and himself, presuming on an effectual assistance from England, had been so active, that they were declared traitors; the former had been sentenced to be torn in pieces by four horses, and fifty thousand crowns were set upon his head.

These pressing circumstances were all urged in vain: Buckingham, tired of his situation, resolved to return to England, though he daily expected a large reinforcement from thence. But he first made an attempt to take the citadel by storm; by which he rashly threw away the lives of the soldiers. He then began his march to the water-side; but fort la Prie being in the possession of the enemy, there was no passage open, but by a narrow causeway, which had on each side of it deep ditches and salt-pits. Buckingham had neglected to erect a fort on this causeway, to secure his retreat; and the English, after they had proceeded upon it, were attacked in this disadvantageous situation by their enemies, who made great slaughter among them; but the courage of the English troops preserved them from a general rout; the French, in their turn, were obliged to retreat, and Buckingham, with his remaining forces, having gained the fleet, returned home, after having lost two-thirds of his land forces.

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This disgraceful disaster brought an additional load of public odium on the universally detested minister: During the progress of his operations, Charles had sent him many compliments on the report of his military exploits; and on hearing of his arrival, sent him a consolatory letter, conjuring him, by the sacred ties of friendship, not to make the disaster irrecoverable, by afflicting himself for the faults of others.

Buckingham's arrival was followed by deputies from the Rochellers, who earnestly solicited Charles for the performance of those promises, on the faith of which they had been prevailed on to take up arms, but were now left exposed to the resentment of Lewis, who had invested their town both by sea and land; while their circumstances were rendered desperate, from their being in immediate danger of famine; on account of Buckingham's having disappointed them of large provisions of corn, which they had been promised from England. The discontents of the English, with the just complaints of the unhappy Rochellers, raised a general out-cry against Buckingham; while the mariners, coming in tumultuous crowds to Whitehall, demanding their pay with great eagerness.

It might be imagined, that in their situation, the king and the duke must dread the assembling of a parliament; but they had possessed so little foresight in their schemes, that they now found themselves under an absolute necessity of embracing that expedient. The

more to soften them, it was agreed, that Buckingham should be the first person who proposed in council, the calling of that assembly; and, previous to their meeting, warrants were sent to all parts, to release the prisoners still confined on account of the loan, who amounted to seventy-eight. At the same time, writs of summons were sent to the disgraced peers, Abbot, Arundel, Bristol, and the bishop of Lincoln, who were all permitted to enjoy their right of taking their seats in the house of lords.

The parliament assembled on the seventeenth of March 1628; and the commons, who possessed the same independent spirit with their predecessors, were so rich, that their property was computed to surpass three times that of the house of peers. But though they were deputed by counties and boroughs, inflamed by the late violations of liberty, and many of the members themselves had been cast into prison on account of the loan, they entered upon business with perfect temper. Charles, in his speech at the opening of the session, instead of attempting to soften the commons by soothing words and fair promises, flung out his threats.

“ If you, said he, should not do your duties, in contributing what the state at this time needs, I must, in discharge of my conscience, use those other means which God has put into my hands.” What must have been the feelings of this assembly, many individuals of which, besides the sense of public injuries, had, in their own persons, suffered from the injustice of the crown? What must they have

have felt on hearing the king, instead of endeavouring to bury the memory of past offences in oblivion, attempt to establish it, as a fundamental principle of government, that God had put into his hands, other means to impose taxes than by parliament? The imagination of every patriot in the house was, doubtless, fired at this expression, while the bitter sense of past, and dread of future sufferings, warmed the imagination of every one who had the least love for his country. When Charles had ended his speech, the lord-keeper made a tedious harangue, in which he observed, that this way of parliamentary supplies his majesty had chosen, not as the only way, but as the fittest; not because he was destitute of others, but because it was more agreeable to his own most gracious disposition, and to the desire and weal of his people; and added, "Remember his majesty's admonition! I say, remember it!"

From these avowed maxims, the commons were convinced, that if they offered the king the least handle, he would immediately dissolve them, and from thenceforward, think himself justified in violating the constitution in a still more open manner. In that case, no other remedy could be had but from a civil war, the issue of which would be extremely uncertain, and must prove a great calamity to the whole nation. Some new laws were necessary to correct the late disorders in the administration; and these would, doubtless, appear harsh to a prince so enamoured of his prerogative; it was therefore necessary to temper, by the moderation

deration and decency of their debates, the rigour which must necessarily attend their determinations. Indeed, the forming and executing of so judicious and difficult a plan of proceeding, give us the highest idea of the capacity and great authority of those men, who now distinguished themselves in the house of commons. Yet the decency they prescribed to themselves, and recommended to others, did not prevent their making the loudest and most vigorous complaints against the grievances under which the nation had lately laboured.

The commons, after having calmly settled their several committees for privileges and elections, for religion, grievances, and trade, passed an order, that all the members of the house should receive the sacrament; and having drawn up a petition to the king for a general fast to be observed throughout the kingdom, entered into a consideration of the late oppressions.

After several animated speeches, the house turned themselves into a committee, to take into consideration the liberty of the subject, in his person and goods; and the supply of the king's necessities. On the subject of liberty of person, Mr. Creskeld, a young lawyer, made a long, eloquent, and learned speech, in which he proved, that the common law of England, guarded both the person and property of the subject, from the prerogative of the prince. He stated the rights of both the king and people, with the utmost accuracy and precision; and shewed how illegally the judges had acted,
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in remanding the gentlemen to prison who were confined on account of the loan, and had brought their *habeas corpus*. It was resolved on the question, that no freeman ought to be committed, detained in prison, or otherwise restrained by the command of the king, privy-council, or any other, without some legal cause of the commitment, detainer, or restraint, be expressed; that the writ of *habeas corpus* ought to be granted to every man who is committed, detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, though it be by the command of the king, privy-council, or any other; that the ancient and undoubted rights of every freeman are, that he has a full and absolute property in his goods and estate; and that no tallage, loan, benevolence, or other like charge, ought to be commanded or levied by the king or any of his ministers, without common consent of parliament. This produced a conference between the two houses, in which it was clearly proved, that these resolutions were authorized by *magna charta*, six several statutes, and the common law of the land.

With this business of grievances, the commons went on that of a supply, and voted five subsidies for the necessities of the government; with which the king was so pleased, that he said, he liked parliaments at first; yet since, he knew not how, he had entertained a distaste for them; but was now where he was before; for he loved them, and should rejoice to meet his people again.

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Though the supply was voted, it was not yet passed into a law; and the commons resolved to employ the interval in providing some barriers to their rights and liberties, so lately violated. They were sensible that their own vote, declaring the illegality of the late oppressive acts of the ministry, was not sufficient to secure the constitution against future invasions. It was necessary that an act for that purpose should receive the sanction of the whole legislature; they therefore appointed a committee to prepare the model of so important a law. The commons here affirmed, that they desired not any unusual powers or privileges, but only to secure those which had been transmitted to them from their ancestors; and this law they resolved to call A PETITION OF RIGHT, as it contained only a corroboration or explanation of the ancient constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties.

The house was frequently interrupted in this important business, by the importunity of Charles, who, though he had given them assurances, that he approved of uniting the grievances with the supply, continued to press them to expedite the latter business out of hand; and, in order to divert the commons from their intention, sent a message, in which he desired to know, whether they would rest upon his royal promise, in favour of their liberties; and if they would rely upon it, he assured them, it should be really and royally performed. This occasioned a debate, which

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was closed by Sir Thomas Wentworth's saying,
 " That never house of parliament, so far as
 " regarded themselves, trusted more than the
 " present to the goodness of their king : but
 " we are ambitious, added he, that his ma-
 " jesty's goodness may remain to posterity.
 " There has been a public violation of the
 " laws by the king's ministers ; and nothing
 " can satisfy the nation, but a public repara-
 " tion. Our desire to vindicate the subject's
 " right, by bill, will carry us no farther than
 " what is contained in former laws, with some
 " modest provision for instruction, perform-
 " ance, and execution." This fully contain-
 " ed the sentiments of the house, and they all
 acquiesced in it.

The king, however, still persevered in his
 endeavours to elude the petition of right ; not-
 withstanding which, it passed the commons,
 and was sent to the upper house, who likewise
 soon passed it, without any material altera-
 tions ; and nothing was wanting, but the royal
 assent to give it the force of a law. Accord-
 ingly the king came to the house of peers, and
 sent for the commons, when being seated on
 the throne, the petition was read to him ; but
 Charles, instead of the usual, concise, and
 clear form, by which a bill is either confirmed
 or rejected, gave this answer, " The king
 " willeth that right be done, according to the
 " laws and customs of the realm, and that the
 " statutes be put in execution, that his sub-
 " jects may have no cause to complain of any
 " wrong or oppression, contrary to their just
 " rights

“ rights and liberties, to the preservation
 “ whereof, he holds himself in conscience, as
 “ much obliged, as of his own prerogative.”

It is surprizing that the king, after having roused the jealousy of the commons, by his frequent evasive messages in relation to this bill, could imagine, that they would be satisfied with an answer so vague and undetermined. The commons returned in a very ill humour to their house ; and the king's answer being read, displeased every patriot ; it was therefore agreed, that a remonstrance should be presented, relating to the present dangers, and the means of safety for the king and kingdom.

Nothing can more effectually justify the steadiness of the commons in the support of their natural rights, than Charles's open encouragement, and avowal of such general principles, as were entirely inconsistent with a limited government. Dr. Manwaring had preached a sermon, which, upon enquiry, the commons found to be printed by the king's special command, though it contained doctrines subversive of all civil liberty. It taught, that though property was commonly lodged in the subject, yet whenever a supply was required, all property was transferred to the sovereign ; that the consent of parliament was not necessary for the imposition of taxes ; and that the divine laws required a compliance with every demand, how irregular soever, which the prince should make upon his subjects. The commons impeached Manwaring for these doctrines ; and the peers passed sentence on that sycophant, that he should

should be imprisoned during the pleasure of the house; be fined a thousand pounds to the king; make acknowledgment and submission for his offence; be suspended during three years; be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office; and that his book be called in and burned. Yet no sooner was the session ended, than this man, so justly obnoxious to both houses, received a pardon, and was promoted to a living of considerable value.

The house of commons now proceeded to censure the conduct of Buckingham, whose name they had hitherto cautiously forbore to mention. In vain did the king send them a message, to let them know, that the session was drawing near a conclusion, and to desire them not to enter upon new business, nor to cast any aspersions on his government and ministry. The commons proceeded, and the king, to prevent the tempest which was ready to burst on the duke, thought proper, upon a joint application of the lords and commons, to give them satisfaction, with regard to the petition of right, and coming to the house of peers, the petition being again read, the king confirmed it in the fullest form, by saying, *Soit droit faite comme il est désiré*, Let it be law as is desired; upon which the commons gave a general and loud applause; and an universal joy was diffused throughout the whole nation.

The grievances intended to be for ever remedied by the Petition of Right, which thus

passed into a law, were forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, billeting soldiers on those who had offended the ministry, and martial law.

The subject of a supply was now resumed, and the bill for five subsidies, which had been formerly voted, immediately passed the house; after which the commons continued their scrutiny into the many innovations which had been lately made on the liberties of the subject; and particularly of the illegal power the king had assumed, of exacting tonnage and poundage, without having received that grant from parliament; and agreed to remonstrate with the king on the illegality of laying any impositions on the subject, without act of parliament. But the king, to prevent their finishing this remonstrance, came suddenly to the house of lords, and ended the session, by a prorogation.

The first military exploit in which the ministry engaged, after the prorogation of the parliament, was an attempt to relieve Rochelle. Lord Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, was sent with a fleet, consisting of ten ships of the line, and sixty smaller vessels, to succour the besieged, with a recruit of men and provisions. On the first of May 1628, the English fleet anchored at Charleboy, in the road of Rochelle; and on the eighth, a shallop, by means of a high tide, and a strong favourable wind, got safe into the harbour, and carried the news of their arrival. Immediately the inhabitants erected signals on the
top

top of their towers, and discharged their cannon, to shew that they were ready to favour, by a diversion, the entrance of the destined succours. But after an ineffectual attempt to pass a bar, which the French had made to prevent the passage of the English ships, a council of war was called, in which the majority of the English captains gave it as their opinion, that the Rochellers had deceived them in their account of the facility of the enterprize: but the vice-admiral, and another officer named Car, exclaimed against the backwardness of the rest; and the French Protestants in the fleet, whose whole force consisted only of twenty-two or twenty-three small vessels, offered, with the assistance of four merchant ships well armed, and three fire-ships, to throw succours into the place; and agreed to pay for all the English ships that might miscarry in the attempt. Denbigh excused himself, by pretending that it was impracticable; and by insisting on the words of his commission, which were not to fight unless first attacked by the enemy: and notwithstanding the tears and prayers of the deputies from Rochelle, he refused to give any relief to that distressed town; and setting sail, returned to England. Thus, by a complication of treachery, ignorance, and cowardice, the expedition was rendered abortive.

In order to repair this dishonour, Buckingham went to Portsmouth, with a resolution to appear once more in a military capacity; and on the vast preparations made for this expedi-

tion, it is said, that all the subsidies given by parliament had been expended. But on the twenty-third of August 1628, while the duke was at Portsmouth, and talking with warmth to the duke of Soubize, and other French officers, on his inclining his head to give directions to Sir Thomas Fryer, he received a mortal wound from an unseen hand, which struck a knife into his heart; and crying, "The villain has killed me," withdrew the fatal instrument, fell prostrate on the ground, and instantly expired.

No man had seen the blow, nor the person who gave it; but in the confusion, every one made his own conjecture, and all agreed, that it was done by one of the French gentlemen, whose angry tone of voice had been heard, while their words were not understood. In the hurry of revenge, the duke's attendants instantly drew their swords, and prepared to massacre the foreigners, but were stopped by some of more temper and judgment; who, though they had the same opinion of their guilt, thought proper to reserve them for a judicial trial. In the midst of this confusion, a hat was found near the door, in the inside of which was sewed a paper, containing four or five lines of that remonstrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and under these lines was a short ejaculation. It was concluded, that the owner of the hat must be the murderer; but the difficulty still remained of knowing who that person was; and it was natural to believe, that he
had

had already fled too far to be found without a hat. While they were in this perplexity, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door; on which one cried, *Here is the fellow who killed the duke.* Every body ran, asking, *Which is he?* The man presenting himself, said, *I am the person who committed the action: let not the innocent suffer.* Upon this the more furious immediately rushed upon him with drawn swords: others, more deliberate, defended and protected him; while he himself, with open arms, calmly and cheerfully exposed his breast to the most enraged.

This assassin proved to be John Felton, a man who was brave, honest, and conscientious, but a melancholy and revengeful enthusiast. He had served as a lieutenant under Buckingham, in his expedition to the Isle of Rhee, and had entertained a personal aversion to him, for his having promoted an officer over his head. The loud complaints of the nation coinciding with his private resentment, inflamed his melancholy to a kind of phrenzy; and his enthusiasm prompted him to render himself an instrument of justice on the declared enemy of his country.

Thus fell George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, the object of almost universal hatred.

“ A man, says Mrs. Macaulay, of memorable insufficiency, as statesman and a soldier;
 “ and who, with no other eminent qualities
 “ than what were proper to captivate the heart
 “ of the weakest part of the female sex, had
 “ been raised, by these qualities, to be the

“ scourge of three kingdoms; and, by his
 “ pestilent intrigues, the chief cause of that
 “ distress, which the French Protestants at this
 “ time languished under: a man whose extra-
 “ ordinary influence over two successive prin-
 “ ces, will serve, among other examples of
 “ this kind, as an everlasting monument of
 “ the contemptible government this magnani-
 “ mous nation must submit to, who groan un-
 “ der the mean, though oppressive, yoke of
 “ an arbitrary sway, entrusted to the caprice
 “ of individuals. The expensive parade of
 “ the courtiers, and the glitter which sur-
 “ rounded the minions of royalty, can be, by
 “ no single example, so fully illustrated, as
 “ by the account of Buckingham’s body-or-
 “ naments: the jewels he left behind him,
 “ were estimated at three hundred thousand
 “ pounds; a sum, which, at the interest mo-
 “ ney then bore, would have brought in an
 “ income of twenty thousand pounds a year.”

Charles was within four miles of Portsmouth
 when he was informed of his favourite’s death,
 while he was upon his knees at prayers; no
 discomposure appeared in his actions, nor al-
 teration in his countenance, till the service was
 over; when he retired to his chamber, and
 threw himself on his bed; where he gave vent
 to his sorrow, in a flood of tears and passionate
 expressions of regard to the memory of the de-
 ceased. His behaviour, afterwards, convinced
 the public, that he retained the same affection
 to his memory, which he had shewn to his
 person; for he continued to heap favours not
 only

only on all his relations, but on those dependants who had attached themselves to his fortune, and paid a vast debt which he had contracted.

Felton being carried to London, underwent several examinations before the council. Laud, who had been lately promoted to the see of London, suggested a suspicion, that the Puritans were at the bottom of the affair, and threatened the delinquent with the rack. Felton, who had before denied that he had any accomplice, told them, if that was to be his case, he did not know whom he might name in the extremity of torture; and, if what he should then say was to go for truth, he could not tell whether his lordship, the bishop of London, or which of the lords at the council-board he might accuse; for torture would draw unexpected things from him. The king and council, however, consulted the judges, whether he might legally be put to the torture; but the judges determining in the negative, his majesty declared, that since it could not be done by law, he would not, in this case, use his prerogative.

Felton was brought to his trial on the twenty-seventh of November, when the unhappy enthusiast felt such exquisite remorse for his crime, that, on his receiving sentence of death, he offered that hand to be cut off, which committed the fact. Though the court refused this request, as being not within the compass of the law, Charles sent to intimate his desire to the judges, that Felton's hand might be cut off
before

before he suffered death: but the judges answered, that the king's will could not be complied with, for in all murders the judgment was the same, unless when the statute of the 25th of Edward III. altered the nature of the offence.

On Buckingham's death, the command of the fleet, destined for the relief of Rochelle, was given to the earl of Lindsey: but the preparations were not ready till the eighth of September, when the French had finished a mole across the harbour, which rendered the relief of the town very difficult, if not impossible. The fleet made several vain attempts on the mole, and the duke of Soubize, on his being informed, that the town could not hold out above two days longer, offered to attempt the mole with the French ships, if the English would promise to follow him; while the count of Laval proposed, with artificial mines, contrived in three ships lined with bricks, to attempt to blow it up. In a council of war, both these proposals were rejected, and more time was spent in fruitless canonading. The captains of the English ships, who had been all nominated by Buckingham, and had hitherto refused every effectual method of flinging relief into the town, at length determined to make one decisive attack; but before this could be put in execution, Rochelle was forced to capitulate.

This unhappy city then exhibited a most dreadful scene of misery. Of twenty-two thousand persons who had been shut up in the town,

four

four thousand alone survived. The living, not being in a condition to bury the dead, vermin, and birds of prey, fed on the exposed carcases. Rats, dogs, cats, mice, human flesh, and other distasteful food, had been the only provision on which these martyrs, to the cause of religion and liberty, had for some time fed. The few inhabitants who survived these miseries appeared like skeletons. Rochelle being thus reduced in the face of the English, their fleet sailed home; and the French monarch, with his minister Richelieu, entered the town, where they restored the exercise of the Catholic religion, destroyed the fortifications, and deprived the inhabitants of all the privileges they had enjoyed from the edict of Nantes, granted in 1598.

After the reduction of this fortress, the persecution of the reformed churches was so violent, that they were again obliged to implore aid of Charles. But though, in the treaty with the Rochellers, it was expressly agreed, that no peace should be concluded with France, unless they were called to the conferences, nor without their privileges and immunities being preserved; and though the king had obliged himself to guarantee the said treaty to them, yet a peace was concluded between the two crowns of France and England, in which the Protestants were basely deserted.

Since the last session of parliament, the duty of tonnage and poundage, notwithstanding the petition of rights, had been levied with great rigour; and several wine-merchants committed

ted to the Fleet for refusing to pay that duty. On the parliament's meeting again on the twentieth of January 1629, the commons revived all their committees, and proceeded to take into consideration, in what particulars the liberty of the subject had been invaded, 'contrary to the petition of right; and upon enquiry, they found; that all the copies of that petition which were dispersed, had, by the king's orders, annexed to them the first answer, which had given so little satisfaction to the commons; by which he endeavoured to persuade the people, that he had not receded from his former claims and pretensions; and, among other violations, complaint was made, that one Savage, contrary to the petition of right, had been punished with the loss of his ears, by an arbitrary sentence of the star-chamber.

Charles, on opening the next session, had foreseen, that the affair of tonnage and poundage would be brought upon the carpet. He therefore took care to inform the commons, that he had not taken these duties by his hereditary prerogative; but that he meant to enjoy them as the gift of his people; and that he justified his having hitherto levied them only by the necessity of doing it, and not by any right which he assumed. This duty, in ancient time, had been commonly a temporary grant of the parliament; but it had been conferred on Henry V. and all the succeeding princes during life; but the commons now found it necessary to restrain the power which the crown had

had usurped, of making arbitrary impositions on the subject, which could no otherwise be effected, than either by making tonnage and poundage a temporary act, or by passing a bill, which should fix the rate of customs. Former sovereigns strictly kept to the sense of the obligation; and it had never been violated from the time of Edward III. till the reign of Mary, whose laying one arbitrary imposition had been so much improved by her successors, as to have become a heavy burden on trade, and rendered the revenue of the crown too much independant of the parliament, for the safety of the constitution.

The enquiries and debates in the house of commons were now carried to a great height. The officers of the custom-house were summoned before the commons, to give an account, by what authority they had presumed to seize the goods of merchants, who had refused to pay these duties; the barons of the exchequer were questioned concerning their decrees on that head; and the sheriff of London was committed to the Tower for his activity in supporting the officers of the custom house: the goods of Rolles, a merchant and member of the house, being seized for his refusal to pay the duties; complaints were made of this violence, as a breach of privilege. On the other hand, Charles supported his officers in all these measures; and the quarrel grew daily higher between him and the commons. In the mean time, Sir John Elliot brought in a remonstrance against levying tonnage and poundage, with-

out

out consent of parliament; and the clerk refusing to read it, he read it himself. The question being then called for, Sir John Finch, the speaker, said, he had a command from the king to adjourn, and to put no question, and then left the chair. The whole house was in an uproar: the speaker was pushed back into the chair, and was forcibly held in it by Holles, son to the earl of Clare, and Mr. Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, declaring Papists and Arminians, with those who levied tonnage and poundage, enemies to the state; and even the merchants, who should voluntarily pay these duties, were denominated betrayers of the liberty of England, and enemies to their country.

The king hearing that they continued to sit, notwithstanding his command for the adjournment, sent a message to the serjeant to bring away his mace; but the house stopped the serjeant, locked the doors, and gave the key to one of their members. Not only the messenger, but Maxwell, the usher of the black rod, having been denied entrance, Charles was so exasperated, that he directed the captain of the gentlemen pensioners to force the doors. But the mischief which this might have occasioned, was prevented by the sudden rising of the house, which was adjourned to the tenth of March.

The discontents of the nation ran extremely high on this violent rupture between the king and parliament; and these were greatly increased by nine of the members being afterwards

wards ordered to appear before the council. Mr. Holles, Sir John Elliot, Mr. Coriton, and Mr. Valentine attended ; but refusing to answer out of parliament, they were committed close prisoners to the Tower ; and at the same time, warrants were issued for apprehending the rest, and for sealing up their studies. Soon after the king came to the house of lords, where he dissolved the parliament, without calling the commons to the bar.

After long delays, Sir John Elliot, Holles, and Valentine, were summoned to their trial in the king's bench, for their seditious speeches and behaviour in parliament ; but refusing to answer before an inferior court, as being members of a superior, they were sentenced to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure ; and Sir John Elliot to pay a fine of two thousand pounds ; Mr. Holles two thousand marks ; and Mr. Valentine five hundred pounds. Their confinement was long, and their treatment rigorous and cruel : they were denied the use of pen and ink ; and even in sickness, all communication with their wives and families.

The severities practised on these gentlemen of resolved and stubborn virtues, were not the only endeavours used to disunite the party. Those eminent members of parliament, who were of a pliant temper, were preferred. Sir Thomas Wentworth had before been bribed by the offers of peerage ; and was created first a baron, then a viscount, and afterwards earl of Strafford ; he was also made deputy of Ireland, and privy counsellor. Sir Dudley Digges was

made master of the rolls; Noy, the king's attorney; and Littleton, his solicitor.

Charles, now disgusted with parliaments, resolved to call no more, till he should have reason to believe the nation was of a more pliant disposition. The duties of tonnage and poundage were pressed with such unremitting violence, that the opulent merchants began universally to take the alarm, which was greatly encreased by the severity of the orders issued for that purpose from the council-board.

Charles now concluded a peace with Spain on the fifth of November 1630, in which no conditions were made in favour of the elector Palatine, except Spain's promising, in general, to use her good offices for his being restored to his dominions. During the rest of Charles's reign, he seems to have paid little regard to foreign affairs, except endeavouring to procure some relief for that unhappy family. He, however, joined his good offices to those of France, and mediated a peace between the kings of Sweden and Poland, in hopes of engaging the former to embrace the protection of the oppressed Protestants in the empire. This was the celebrated Gustavus, whose heroism and wise policy soon rendered him the most distinguished monarch of the age, and made his country, which was formerly unknown, of great weight in the balance of Europe. To assist him in the invasion of Germany, Charles furnished him with six thousand men, under the name of the marquis of Hamilton, who enlisted these troops in England and Scotland,

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at Charles's expence. Soon after the decisive battle of Leipzig was fought, in which count Tilly, at the head of the Imperial army, was entirely defeated by Gustavus, whose life was, from this time, a continued series of victories. The veteran troops of Ferdinand, conducted by the most celebrated generals of the age, were worsted in every encounter, and all Germany was in an instant over-run by the victorious Swede, till the battle of Lutzen, where Gustavus perished in the midst of a complete victory, which he had gained over his enemies. These transactions we have here carried on a few years beyond the present period, to prevent our being interrupted in our account of Charles's domestic transactions.

In all ecclesiastical, and even in many civil affairs, Laud, bishop of London, had now great influence over the king. This man, says Hume, was virtuous, if severity of manners alone, and abstinence from pleasure, could deserve that name. He was learned, if polemical knowledge could entitle him to that praise. His zeal was unrelenting in the cause of religion; that is, in imposing, by rigorous measures, his own tenets and ceremonies on the obstinate Puritans, who profanely dared to oppose him. In the prosecution of his holy purposes, the heat and indiscretion of his temper, made him neglect the views of prudence and humanity; and while he imagined all his enemies to be the enemies of loyalty and true piety, he considered the very exercise of his revenge as meritorious.

The nation was, at this time, far from being inclined to superstition; and it was with difficulty that the ancient ceremonies, to which men had been accustomed, could be retained in divine service: yet Laud chose this time for the introduction of new ceremonies, that gave the English faith and liturgy some resemblance to the church of Rome, which the kingdom in general, and more particularly the Puritans, held in the greatest detestation; and naturally imagined, that Laud intended to lead the English back, by gradual steps, to Popery. The resemblance of the Romish ritual was a favourite point with Laud and his brethren, who bore much greater kindness to the mother church, as they called her, than to the Puritans; and it was so generally believed, that the church of England was relapsing fast into Popery, that even the court of Rome itself entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this island; and, in order to forward Laud's good intentions, he was twice privately offered a cardinal's hat, which he declined accepting, and answered, as he himself says, "That something dwelt within him, which would not suffer his compliance, till Rome was other than it is."

Laud, in carrying on his scheme, exerted the most cruel tyranny over all who presumed to oppose him; and several clergymen were prosecuted, loaded with exorbitant fines, imprisoned and ruined, for daring to preach against his innovations. Alexander Leighton, D. D. a Scotchman, wrote a book called *Zion's Plea*

Plea against Prelacy, which contained some imprudent invectives against the prelates, and the conduct of those in power. Soon after the publication of this work, Leighton was arrested as he was coming from church, by two high-commission pursuivants, and dragged to Laud's house, where he was kept till the evening. Laud then returning home, in great pomp and state, with Corbet, bishop of Oxford. Leighton demanded to be heard; but the haughty lords, not deigning to see him, sent him to Newgate, where he was clapped in irons, and confined in an uninhabited apartment; where, though the snow and rain beat in, there was no convenient place to make a fire. From Tuesday night to Thursday noon he was without food; and in this wretched dwelling, was kept fifteen weeks without a friend, or even his wife being suffered to come near him. In the mean time, his house was rifled by the officers of the high-commission court; his wife and child treated with great barbarity; he was denied a copy of his commitment; and the sheriffs of London refused to bail him on his wife's petition. At the end of the fifteen weeks he was served with a subpoena. Heath, the attorney general, assuring him that he should come off well, prevailed on him to confess, that he was the author of the book. An information being lodged in the star-chamber, he made the same confession; but alledged, that it was with no such ill intention as was suggested. However, by the unanimous consent of that tyrannical court, the

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following cruel sentence was pronounced against him, though he was sick and absent: that he should pay a fine of ten thousand pounds for his majesty's use; be degraded from the ministry; be taken to the pillory at Westminster, and there whipped; after whipping, to be set in the pillory for some convenient space; to have one of his ears cut off, his nose slit, and to be branded in the face with S. S. for a sower of sedition; then to be carried back to the prison of the Fleet, and at some other convenient time afterwards, to be carried to the pillory at Cheapside; to be there likewise whipped, then set in the pillory, have his other ear cut off, and then be carried back to remain in the Fleet during life, unless his majesty be graciously pleased to enlarge him. The evening before the intended day of suffering, Leighton escaped out of prison; but being apprehended in Bedfordshire, was brought again to the Fleet. On the sixteenth of November 1630, the first part of his sentence was executed with great cruelty, in New Palace Yard Westminster; and on that day seven-night, while his sores upon his back, ears, nose, and face, were not cured, he was whipped again at the pillory in Cheapside; and there had the remainder of his sentence executed by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of the nose, and branding the other cheek. Dr. Leighton, in his own account of his horrid execution, adds, that after receiving the punishment of the lash, he stood almost two hours in the pillory, exposed to the frost and snow,
and

and then suffered the rest of the sentence ; that being, with these miseries, disabled from walking, he was denied the benefit of a coach, and his life farther endangered by his being carried back to prison by water. Elphinston and Anderson, two of his countrymen and friends, who helped to procure his escape, were, for this act of humanity, fined in the star-chamber five hundred pounds each, and committed to the Fleet during the king's pleasure.

The public were deeply affected by this impolitic act of cruelty ; and the popular clamours were encreased against Laud by the new ceremonies he introduced into the church ; as a specimen of which, it will not be improper to relate those which he employed in the consecration of St. Catharine Cree Church, in Leadenhall Street, London, which gave general offence.

On the bishop's approach to the west door, several loud voices cried out, " Open, open, " ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory " may enter in !" Immediately the doors of the church flew open, and the bishop entered. Falling upon his knees, with his eyes lifted up, and his arms stretched out, he cried, " This " place is holy ; the ground is holy. In the " name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, " I pronounce it holy." Then going towards the chancel, he several times took up the dust, and threw it in the air. As he approached the communion-table, he bowed frequently towards it ; and returning, he and his attendants went in procession round the church, repeating,

peating, as they marched along, some of the psalms, and then said a form of prayer, which concluded with these words, " We consecrate
 " this church, and separate it unto thee as
 " holy ground, not to be profaned any more
 " to common uses." After this, the bishop standing near the communion-table, solemnly pronounced many imprecations upon all who should pollute that holy place by musters of soldiers, keeping profane law-courts, or carrying burthens through it; and on the conclusion of every curse, he bowed towards the east, and said, " Let all the people say, Amen." Having ended his pious imprecations, he poured forth a number of blessings on all who had any hand in framing or building that sacred edifice; and on those who had given, or should hereafter give to it, any chalices, plate, or ornaments; and at every benediction, bowed towards the east, crying, " Let all the people say, Amen." A sermon followed, after which the bishop consecrated and administered the sacrament in the following manner.

As he approached the communion-table, he made many low reverences; and coming up to that part of it where the bread and wine were placed, he bowed seven times. After reading many prayers, he approached the sacramental elements, and lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the bread was laid. On beholding the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, and starting a step or two back, bowed three times towards it; then drew near again, and opening the napkin, bowed as before.

fore. He next laid his hand on the cup, which had a cover upon it, and was filled with wine; then let go the cup, fell back, and bowed twice towards it: then approaching again, and lifting up the cover, peeped into the cup, and seeing the wine, let fall the cover; started back, and bowed as before. He then received the sacrament, and gave it to others; after which, many prayers were said, which concluded the solemnity of the consecration. The same was acted over again at St. Giles's in the fields, and several other churches.

The communion-table was now removed from the middle of the area, where it had hitherto stood in all churches, except in cathedrals; and was placed at the east end, railed in, and denominated an altar. Kneeling at which, and using of copes, a species of embroidered vestment, in administering the sacrament, were rigorously insisted on; the crucifix resumed its consequence, and the churches were ornamented by pictures taken from the mass-books.

Such of the clergy as neglected to observe every ceremony, were suspended and deprived by the high-commission court: many of the bishops imposed oaths on the church-wardens, who were sworn to inform against any one that acted against the ecclesiastical canons, which gave great offence, as it so nearly resembled the practice of the inquisition. The English regiments and trading companies abroad, were ordered to observe the discipline and worship of the church; and the Dutch and Walloon
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congregations in London, were commanded to attend the established church. The king's ambassador at Paris, had also orders to withdraw himself from the communion of the Hugonots; by which the crown lost the advantage of being considered as the head and support of the reformation.

Laud and his followers, in return for Charles's indulgence towards the church, magnified, on every occasion, the regal authority; and treated with the utmost detestation all puritannical pretensions to a free and independent constitution. But while they were so liberal in raising the crown at the expence of public liberty, they themselves made no scruple of encroaching on the most incontestible prerogatives of the sovereign, in order to exalt the hierarchy. All the doctrines of the church of Rome, which freed the clergy from subordination to the civil power, were now interwoven with the political and religious tenets of the church of England: the sacerdotal character was magnified, as having the sole right to spiritual authority; the claim to private judgment, in matters of religion, was refused to the profane laymen; and ecclesiastical courts were held by the bishops in their own names, without any notice being taken of the king's authority; yet Charles encouraged these encroachments on his prerogative.

While Laud was thus exalting the crossier, rendering his master the substitute of metropolitical power, and the privy-council the executioners of ecclesiastical insolence and cruelty,

Charles

Charles was studying the means of providing sufficiently for the support of the crown, without the assistance of parliament.

The first expedient practised was not only to continue tonnage and poundage, but to lay new impositions on several kinds of merchandize; and the customhouse-officers received orders from the council, to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar, to search any trunk or chest, and to break any bulk whatever, in default of the payment of customs.

The next was a proclamation, in which every man who had been possessed of forty pounds a year for three years, and had not been knighted at the king's coronation, was summoned to compound, as well for fines and contempt, as for not having taken that order; and many were put to great expence in the exchequer and star-chamber, for refusing to pay the composition money. Particularly Sir David Foulis was fined five thousand pounds, chiefly because he had dissuaded a friend from compounding with the commissioners of knighthood.

Compositions were openly made with recusants; and the Popish religion became a regular part of the revenue, notwithstanding a statute enacted in the last parliament of James's reign, against the dispensation of penal laws. The same statute had abolished monopolies, but had left an exception in favour of new inventions. Under the pretence of these, and of erecting new companies and corporations, monopolies were again revived on all sorts of

commodities: wine, soap, starch, leather, sea-coal, pins, even to the sole gathering of rags.

Some laws had been enacted, during the reign of Henry VII. against the converting of arable lands into pasture; and now, by a decree of the star-chamber, Sir Anthony Roper was fined four thousand pounds for an offence of that nature. This severe sentence was intended to terrify others into composition; and by that expedient, above thirty thousand pounds were levied. Compositions or heavy fines were likewise exacted for encroachments on the king's forests; whose bounds were, by arbitrary decrees, greatly extended; particularly the bounds of Rockingham-forest were encreased from six miles to sixty.

Proclamations supplied the defects of law, and the high-commission court persecuted, as Puritans, all who refused to submit to this despotic government. The Presbyterians, to strengthen themselves against the designs of their enemies, had entered into a project to set up stipendiary lectures in several market-towns, and had raised a stock to purchase such impropriations as were remaining in the hands of the laity. A society was established under the title of Feoffees, for buying in impropriations to be bestowed on preaching ministers. Twelve popular religious men were erected into a kind of corporation to manage this business; and the scheme received such encouragement, that at length it roused the jealousy of Laud. The feoffees were prosecuted by Noy, the attorney-general, in the court of exchequer, under the pretence,

pretence, that they usurped upon the king's regality. The feoffment was condemned; the impropriations purchased, confiscated to the king's use; and the merits of the cause referred to a farther censure in the star-chamber.

To render the execution of the laws as arbitrary as the proceedings of this despotic court, a commission was granted to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other members of the privy-council, to examine all questions, controversies and debates, arising about the jurisdiction of the courts, ecclesiastical and civil. They were constituted with power to call before them, as often as they pleased, any of the judges of those courts, or the parties contending; to examine upon oath the officers and clerks; to hear and debate the questions and causes; to consider and advise on the subject; and then to lay before the king the same considerations, that he might determine, by his authority, the matter in dispute.

Charles had ruled four years in England with despotic power, when he undertook a journey to Scotland, in order to be crowned there; to obtain a supply of money from the parliament of that kingdom, and to reduce the kirk of Scotland to a perfect conformity to his plan of church government. James had found means to restore episcopacy in Scotland; and Charles was determined to render the bishops powerful. The king was attended by the English nobility, who vied with each other in shew and equipage; and so much time was taken up in the entertainments given the king on the

road, that though the journey was commenced on the thirteenth of May*, it was not till the fifteenth of June that Charles reached Edinburgh. His entry and coronation were conducted with such profusion, and costly pageantry, that the whole country felt the importance of their visitor. Laud was made a privy-counsellor of Scotland, on the first day of the king's arrival at Edinburgh; and was so arrogantly officious at the ceremony of the coronation, that Lindsey, the archbishop of Glasgow, having avoided, through moderation, his putting on the embroidered robes of his order, Laud thrust him from his place at the king's left hand, and supplied it with Maxwell, bishop of Ross, crying, "Are you a church-man, and want the coat of your order?"

The parliament of Scotland was not only munificent in their grants to the king, but complimented him with passing all the acts he proposed, except two. The first was, to give the crown a power of prescribing habits to the ecclesiastics: the second was a resumption of those church-lands and tythes, which had been alienated in the minority of James's reign.

The first step which the king took after his return to England, was to appoint Laud archbishop of Canterbury, in the room of Abbot, who had died a little before; by which means, that prelate was enabled to maintain ecclesiastical discipline with greater rigour, and thus to encrease the general discontent of the nation.

In 1634 an arbitrary tax was introduced, called ship-money, under the pretence of providing a fleet to prevent the Dutch from fishing on the British coast. The first writs of this kind had been directed to sea-port towns only: but ship-money was now levied on the whole kingdom; and each county was rated at a particular sum, which was afterwards assessed upon individuals.

An act had been passed in the first year of Charles's reign, for suppressing all revels which had been used upon Sundays; but Laud prevailed on the king to ratify a former declaration made by his father, for licensing sports on that day, which gave great offence to the sober part of the nation. Charles himself paid so little attention to the opinion of the public, in regard to keeping Sunday, that civil affairs were usually debated at the council-table; and that day was allotted for masks, plays, and other amusements. Great numbers of the clergymen, refusing to publish the king's license for sports, were suspended from their ministry, sequestered from their livings, excommunicated, and prosecuted so severely in the high-commission court, that they were forced to leave the kingdom.

While all England trembled at the power of Laud, from his influence at the council-tables, star-chamber, and high commission court; and while the terrors of Leighton's punishment still hung on the minds of the people, the courage of William Prynne, a barrister at law, gave rise to a scene of nearly equal

barbarity. He had been shocked at the increasing profligacy of the times, excited and encouraged by a swarm of theatrical performances: for the people of genius and fancy being excluded from the useful parts of literature, by the licencers of the press, applied themselves solely to the writing of plays, interludes, and other compositions of the like kind, which appeared very destructive to the morals of the people, who pursued these amusements with an eager and uncloyed appetite. The king, the queen, and the whole court, entered with glee into these entertainments; and Charles made one with the queen, the noblemen, the ladies, and other followers of the court, in these exhibitions; in which were allegorical representations of deities, heroes, elements, and seasons; and sometimes in these pieces, the glories of the reigning family were sung and danced. In the midst of this general rage for pleasures, Prynne wrote his book, which he swelled to a thousand pages, by a collection of all the passages against theatrical performances he had found in the fathers, and other grave authors, with his own prolix remarks. This work, which was entitled *Histrion Mastix*, was licensed by archbishop Abbot's chaplain. Six weeks after it was published, the queen acted a part in a pastoral; after which, Laud shewed this book to the king and queen, laying a malicious stress on a reference in the table of the work, "Women actors, notorious
"whores." Prynne was instantly confined in the Tower; Dr. Heylin, one of Laud's crea-
tures,

tures, was ordered to collect all the severe passages in the performance ; and Noy, the king's attorney, who was charged to prosecute the offender in the star-chamber, discharged his office, by exaggerating every circumstance, till general invectives against plays were rendered a treasonable libel of dangerous consequence to the state. Prynne having owned himself the author, the following cruel sentence was passed upon him : to be excluded from the society of Lincoln's Inn, and degraded at Oxford ; to stand in the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside, with a paper on his head, declaring his offence ; to lose an ear in each place ; to have his book burned before his face, by the hands of the common hangman ; to be fined five thousand pounds to the king ; and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. Michael Sparks, the printer and publisher of the book, was fined five hundred pounds, and to stand in the pillory.

There were many other cruel and iniquitous decrees of the star-chamber, in which exorbitant fines were exacted for small offences. One Allison had reported, that the archbishop of York had incurred the king's displeasure, by asking a limited toleration for the Catholics, and an allowance to build some churches for the exercise of their religion. For this slander against the archbishop, he was condemned in the star-chamber to be fined one thousand pounds, to be committed to prison, to be bound to his good behaviour during life, to be whipped, and to be set on the pillory at Westminster,

ster, and in three other towns in England ; and Robins, who had been an accomplice in the guilt, received a sentence equally severe.

Morley was fined ten thousand pounds for reviling, challenging, and striking, in the court of Whitehall, Sir George Theobald, one of the king's servants.

In this reign, the highest respect was paid to the nobility ; and all below that order, were reduced to a state of the most abject meanness. Lord Clarendon tells us, that a waterman having a dispute with a citizen about his fare, shewed his badge, the crest of his master, which happened to be a swan, and thence insisted on better treatment from the citizen : but he carelessly replying, that he did not trouble his head about that goose ; he was for this offence summoned before the marshal's-court, fined for having defamed the nobleman's crest, by calling the swan a goose, and reduced to beggary.

Sir Richard Granville, whom the earl of Suffolk had used ill in a law-suit, was accused before the star-chamber of having said of that nobleman, that he was a base lord : but though the evidence against him was weak, and insufficiently proved, he was, for this slight offence, sentenced to pay a fine of eight thousand pounds ; one half to the king, and the other to the earl.

Williams, bishop of Lincoln, who had been lord-keeper, was a man of spirit and learning, and a popular prelate. Laud owed his first promotion to his good offices ; yet being dis-
pleated

pleased with him, he, on frivolous pretences, had him fined ten thousand pounds in the star-chamber, committed to the Tower during the king's pleasure, and suspended from his office. So implacable was the haughty primate, that on the strangest pretence, he raised up a new prosecution against this bishop. Some officers had been sent in order to levy the above-mentioned fine, to seize all the furniture and books of the episcopal palace of Lincoln; and in rummaging the house, they found some neglected letters, written by one Osbaldistone, a school-master, directed to Dr. Williams; in which mention was made of *a little great man*; and in another passage, the same person was called a *little urchin*. By inferences and constructions, these epithets were applied to Laud; and on no better foundation, this prelate was tried again for having received scandalous letters, and not discovering that private correspondence; and for this offence, he was sentenced to pay another fine of eight thousand pounds. Osbaldistone was likewise brought to his trial, and sentenced to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and to have his ears nailed to the pillory, before his own school; but he saved himself by flight.

In 1637 Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were tried in the star-chamber for seditious and schismatical libels; and were cruelly sentenced to undergo the same punishment that had been inflicted on Prynne: that lawyer himself was also tried for a new offence; and together with another fine of five thousand

land pounds, was condemned to lose what remained of his ears.

John Lilburne was accused before the star-chamber, of publishing seditious pamphlets, and ordered to be examined; but refused to take the oath usual in that court, that he would answer interrogatories, though they might lead him to accuse himself. For this contempt, as it was interpreted, he was sentenced to be whipped, to stand in the pillory, and to be imprisoned. But while he was whipped at the cart, and stood on the pillory, he harangued the populace against the tyranny of bishops, and scattered papers to the same purpose. The star-chamber being then sitting, ordered him to be immediately gagged. However, though gagged and in the pillory, he stamped with his feet, and by his gestures, shewed the people, that he would continue to speak if it was in his power. This behaviour filled the members of the star-chamber with rage, and they immediately sentenced him to be imprisoned in a dungeon, and to be loaded with irons.

The terrors of arbitrary power, joined to persecution for religion, thus raging in England, many of the Puritans set sail for America, and laid there the foundations of a government which possessed all the liberty, both civil and religious, of which they were bereaved in their native country. But their enemies, unwilling that they should any where enjoy ease and the liberty of conscience, prevailed on the king to issue a proclamation, to put a stop to these emigrations. Eight ships lying in the Thames,

Thames, and ready to sail, were detained by order of the council; and in these were embarked Oliver Cromwell, John Hampden, and Sir Arthur Hazlerig, who were resolved for ever to abandon their native country, and to fly to the new world, where they might enjoy their religious and civil liberty. But the king had afterwards sufficient reason to repent of this step.

In this year, 1637, while the law itself was rendered the instrument of despotism, one man, who had before suffered imprisonment, rather than consent to an illegal loan, again stood forth and combated the new state-monster, ship-money. John Hampden, of an ancient family, and considerable fortune, had been rated at twenty shillings, for an estate he possessed in Buckinghamshire; and notwithstanding the powers of the constitution seemed to be entirely subdued; notwithstanding there was no prospect of relief from parliament; notwithstanding the ministers of Charles were armed with power, and held in one hand the sword, in the other the yoke over their helpless country; this illustrious patriot, by an appeal to the laws of the realm, resolutely stood the resentment of a tyrant, rather than tamely submit to the illegal imposition. After many pleadings and traverses, the cause was heard before all the judges in the exchequer-chamber. Twelve days were spent in the pleadings of the lawyers, and the case was afterwards argued by the judges. Precedents of writs were produced as ancient as the times of the Saxons; but

but when these writs were examined, they were found only to require the sea-ports, sometimes at their own charge, sometimes at the charge of the counties, to send their ships for the defence of the nation. But the power exercised by the crown was entirely abolished by a particular statute; and all the authority which remained, was to press ships into the public service, to be paid by the crown. Yet, notwithstanding this, and Mr. Hampden's counsel unanswerably proving the illegality of the tax, from the fundamental principles of the constitution, and the positive dictates of the Great Charter, and other constitutional acts; and from the petition of right, which had been lately so solemnly enacted by the concurrence of the whole legislature, the prostituted bench of judges, four individuals excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown; yet the point in dispute was so impotently contested by the pleaders on the side of prerogative, that nothing could equal the iniquity of their intentions, but the weakness of their arguments.

In relation to this important trial, Whitlocke mentions an anecdote, which does honour to the female sex. Judge Crook, fearful of exposing himself to the resentment of a wicked and powerful ministry, had determined to give judgment for the king; but his wife, a woman of true virtue, addressed him in the style of Spartan magnanimity, conjured him not to violate his conscience and honour, for fear of incurring danger or poverty: for herself, she would be content to suffer want or any misery, rather

rather than be the occasion of his acting against his judgment and his conscience. Crook, struck with these exalted sentiments, and strengthened with the encouragements of so dear a friend, altered his purpose, and argued with a noble boldness on the side of law and liberty.*

Though Hampden lost his cause, he obtained, by the trial, the end for which he had so generously sacrificed his safety and his quiet: the people were roused from their lethargy; these national questions were canvassed in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently did it appear, that the old constitution was totally subverted, and tyranny established in its stead. Slavish principles, they said, concurred with illegal practices; ecclesiastical tyranny gave aid to civil usurpation; iniquitous taxes were supported by arbitrary punishments; and all the privileges of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes and patriots, now lay prostrate at the feet of the monarch †.

Ship-money continued to be exacted with the utmost rigour, and to keep up appearances, a fleet for some time paraded on the seas. Yet the neutrality of the English ports was not only violated by Spain, France, and Holland, but the English merchantmen were frequently taken by the ships of each of those powers, and particularly the Hollanders took three English

* Whitlocke, page 24, Mrs. Macaulay.

† Hume.

East-India ships, valued at three hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

When Charles thought he had firmly established an unlimited power over Great Britain, he seriously entered into the project of bringing the three kingdoms into a perfect conformity to that form of worship, which he deemed most agreeable to absolute monarchy. In 1633, when he returned from Scotland, he left in charge with the bishops there, to compile a liturgy, and a book of canons, which were to be transmitted into England for Laud's approbation. The bishops of Scotland exerted their new acquired authority with great imperiousness; not satisfied with the general high-commission court, they produced warrants from the king, for setting up such a jurisdiction in their several dioceses. Civil offices in Scotland were also dealt out to churchmen with a bountiful hand. Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrews, was created chancellor; nine bishops were privy-counsellors, and possessed places in the exchequer. Besides these grievances, which were highly resented by the Scotch nobility, the manner in which the king imposed on them the law of resumption of the crown lands, and the law which enlarged his power in ecclesiastical matters, and confirmed religion in its present state, rendered them quite desperate: but they cautiously concealed their sentiments, and impatiently waited for an opportunity, when Charles, by an act of apparent illegal power, should convince the multitude, that the times demanded a determined opposition.

Charles

Charles and Laud were so wanton in the exercise of their power, that the canons which ordained a punctual compliance with the liturgy, were published a whole year before the people were supposed to know what that liturgy was. The canons themselves were of the most offensive kind. They asserted, that the king's power and prerogative were, in every thing, absolute and unlimited: that the clergy should be obliged to pray only by the printed form prescribed in the liturgy: that whosoever should affirm, that the form of worship inserted in the book of common-prayer and administration of the sacraments, contained any thing repugnant to the scriptures, should be excommunicated; and that no one should teach school, without a license from the bishop of the diocese. But notwithstanding the effect which these canons must have on a people who abhorred the most distant approach towards Popery, yet the multitude were kept in such order by those who guided the popular counsels, that the general disquiet was vented in such low murmurs, that the bishops exulted in a fancied security, that the royal commands would meet with an obsequious obedience. The liturgy intended to be imposed on Scotland was copied from that of England, except some alterations, which seemed to approach nearer to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

On the sixteenth of July, 1637, the ministers of Edinburgh gave notice from their pulpits, that the next sabbath, the new service-book would be read in all the churches: this in-

formation was received with apparent composure; and on the appointed day, the bishop of Edinburgh came in great state from Holyrood-house, to the cathedral church of St. Giles in that city: but the dean, arrayed in his surplice, no sooner began to read the service, than the multitude raised a frightful outcry, clapping their hands, and exclaiming, "A pope! a pope! Antichrist! stone him! stone him!" The bishop then mounted the pulpit, in order to reprove the people; but an old woman flinging a stool at his head, he soon retreated from that place of eminence. Spotswood, the chancellor, commanding the provost and the other magistrates of the city, to suppress these disorders: they turned the most clamorous of the multitude out of church, and the dean proceeded to read the liturgy. He was not at all attended to by the remaining congregation; and those who were without, broke the windows, continued to pelt the reverend pastors with stones and dirt, and it was not without difficulty that the bishop got home in a whole skin.

The lower sort of people appeared to be the only actors in this first onset; and, at the desire of the magistrates of Edinburgh, the council ordered the reading of the liturgy to be deferred, till the people were more disposed to receive it. Things continued quiet till the seventeenth of October; when the harvest being over, people flocked to the metropolis, to petition against the service book; and now the

men

men of rank and property avowed their discontent. Mr. Alexander Henderson, and Mr. James Bruce, two ministers who had been charged to read the liturgy, supplicated the council for a suspension of their charge, pleading, that in matters relative to the worship of God, they were not bound to a blind obedience; and that the reformation of religion was, by the constitution of the church of Scotland, left to the care of general assemblies. The council, to the great mortification of the bishop, dismissed the ministers, without any marks of displeasure, promising to refer their petition to the king. Yet the council in vain issued proclamations to disperse the multitude, who beset the council-house, and even threatened to kill all within, unless they promised to join in opposition to the service-book, and to restore three silenced ministers to their pulpits.

A deputation of commissioners then presented two petitions to the council, against the service-book and the book of canons; one in the name of the noblemen, gentry, ministers, and burghesses of Edinburgh; and the other from the men, women, children and servants in that city. Charles being little inclined to give satisfactory answers to the petitioners, commanded the privy-council to publish a proclamation, avowing a detestation of popery and superstition; but this was far from appeasing the growing discontent of the people; and though symptoms appeared, which threatened a dangerous insurrection, the king was inflexible; and no arguments could prevail on him to give

his people assurances, that they should not be pressed to conform to any farther innovations in religion. He, however, issued a proclamation, in which he pardoned all past offences, but forbade them to assemble again, on pain of high treason ; and that no person should presume to approach Stirling, whither the council was removed, without permission. He also commanded all noblemen, gentlemen, and others, who did not belong to the council or court of justice, to quit that town in six hours, on pain of being declared traitors. The day after this proclamation was published at Stirling, the earl of Hume and lord Lindeſay published a protest against it, which was afterwards repeated at Lithgow and Edinburgh. The opposition now carried a very formidable appearance, and the multitude were so enraged, that they talked of putting the chancellor Spotswood to death ; but were diverted from attempting his life by their leaders.

An excellent order now succeeded, the parties forming themselves into four tables : one consisted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of burgesſes, and a fourth of ministers. The table of gentry were divided into subordinate ones, according to their several counties. Each table consulted on matters to be proposed to a general table, composed of commissioners chosen from the other four ; and from this, orders were issued that were every where obeyed with the utmost punctuality. The first act they produced, was a solemn league and covenant, which consisted of the renunciation of popery,
which

which James had signed in his youth ; to which was annexed, a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist innovations in religion, and to defend each other against all opposition. All ranks, all ages and sexes flocked to subscribe ; and the king's ministers and counsellors followed the example.

Scotland became now too hot for the prelates. The bishop of Galloway had been insulted, and obliged to take shelter in the council-room ; and the archbishop of St. Andrews had a very narrow escape at Stirling. The prelates therefore fled in a body to London, from the fury of the covenanters ; and Charles, who thought no sin equal to that of disobedience to monarchs, was surprized at the encrease of power and influence in the party which opposed him ; and beginning to apprehend the consequences, sent the marquis of Hamilton to treat with the covenanters, and to require them to renounce the covenant, on which condition he offered to suspend the canons and liturgy, till they could be received in a fair and legal way ; and so to model the high-commission, that it should no longer be a just grievance.

Hamilton being invited to reside at Holyrood house, the chief covenanters met him, with sixty thousand followers in their train, while Charles possessed no regular forces in either of his kingdoms. He was told by the earl of Lindesay, that the people insisted on having the articles of Perth annulled ; episcopal authority abolished ; and that if a free general assembly and parliament were not called by the

king, they would call one themselves. In the mean time, two large ships came into their ports, laden with arms and ammunition : by a decree of the tables; the keys of the city were taken from the magistrates of Edinburgh, a guard of fifteen hundred men were set upon its avenues, and another strong guard prevented the reinforcing the castle.

Hamilton being unable to prevail on the eminent lawyers and judges of the sessions, to declare the covenant unlawful, returned to London; made another fruitless journey to Edinburgh, with new concessions; returned again to London, and was immediately sent back with concessions, which it was thought would have been more satisfactory. Charles now seemed willing to abolish entirely the canons, the liturgy, and the high-commission court, and to limit the power of the bishops; and appeared willing to consent to any terms, in order to retain that order in the church of Scotland. He also gave Hamilton authority to summon, first an assembly, and then a parliament, in which every national grievance might be redressed and remedied. But the covenanters were still far from being satisfied; and were warned by the ministers from the pulpits, to beware of trusting to appearances, and of falling into the snare of the enemy.

Charles, at length, reflecting on the advantages his enemies had reaped from their covenant, resolved to have one on his side; and ordered a covenant to be drawn up, consisting of the same renunciation of popery, to which
was

was annexed a bond, which expressed the subscribers duty and loyalty to his majesty. But the covenanters perceiving, that this new covenant was only meant to weaken and divide them, received it with the utmost contempt: and, without delay, proceeded to model the future assembly, which Hamilton had proposed to them.

Before the establishment of prelacy, it had been usual for each presbytery *, to send to the assembly two or three ministers, with one lay-commissioner; and as commissioners were also sent by the boroughs and universities, the lay-members in that ecclesiastical court, nearly equalled the ecclesiastics. This institution, which had been abolished by James, was now revived by the covenanters. By an edict of the tables, an elder from each parish, was now ordered to attend the presbytery, and give his vote in the choice both of the commissioners and ministers, who should be deputed to the assembly; and, to every commissioner, were sent four or five lay assessors, who, though they had no vote, might yet interpose by their counsel and authority, with the assembly.

The assembly met at Glasgow, in 1638, and all the nobility and gentry of the kingdom were present, either as members, assessors, or spectators; and, as it was resolved entirely to

* In Scotland, the presbytery is an inferior ecclesiastical court, composed of the clergy of the neighbouring parishes, amounting to between twelve and twenty in number.

abolish

abolish episcopacy, there was solemnly read in all the churches of the kingdom, an accusation against the bishops, charging them with several crimes. The bishops sent a protest against the authority of the assembly; and Hamilton protested against that court, as illegally constituted and elected; and, in his majesty's name, dissolved it. The court, however, still continued to sit, and declared all the acts of assembly, since the accession of James to the crown of England, null and invalid; and the acts of parliament relating to ecclesiastical affairs being, on that account, supposed to have no manner of authority, episcopacy, the high-commission, the articles of Perth, with the canons and the liturgy, were abolished, and declared unlawful; and the whole fabric which James and Charles had, for a considerable course of years, been rearing with such care and policy, was thrown at once to the ground.

Many authors have alledged, that the Scots ought to have been satisfied with Charles's concessions; but it is certain, that they knew those concessions were not sincere; that he only waited an opportunity to retract them, and that he had been all the time secretly making warlike preparations, to put himself in a condition to punish the heads of the covenanters, and to prevent any farther opposition to his designs on their country.

The transactions of the assembly at Glasgow caused both sides to pull off the mask. In the beginning of the year 1639, Charles summoned all the English nobility to meet him at
York,

York, on the first of April. The Catholics shewed great zeal against the covenanters; and the queen, desirous of ingratiating them still more in her husband's favour, wrote circular letters to the whole body, requiring them to contribute largely towards the king's necessities. A kind of emulation appeared between them and the English clergy; who were stimulated by Laud, to out-do each other in contributions towards the war against the Scots. This circumstance helped to cool the zeal of the rest of the English subjects, who called it, "The bishop's war;" and in ridicule, termed Charles "The archbishop of Canterbury's Knight."

The Scots, on hearing of these proceedings, seized the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton, and on the arms and ammunition in the king's magazines; formed an army, and appointed Alexander Lesly their general, an experienced officer, who had served under Gustavus, king of Sweden. The care of the coast next to Ireland was committed to the earl of Argyle; and Aberdeen to the earl of Montrose. They fortified Leith, the sea-port of Edinburgh; and it being a place of great consequence, the works were carried on with rapidity: the drudgery of manual labour was not only performed by those who assisted for pay, but the nobles, the gentry, and women of all ranks, emulating the Grecian bravery, intermingled with the lowest of the people, and carried on their shoulders the materials necessary

sary for completing the fortifications*. Almost all the Scots in foreign parts swore to the covenant; and the officers who had required reputation in the German war, returned home to assist their country in her present necessity.

In England an army was raised, consisting of six thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, besides a fleet of ships with five thousand men on board, under the command of the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail to the Frith of Forth. The earl of Essex was appointed lieutenant-general, and the earl of Holland general of the horse. The king himself joined the army on the twenty-ninth of May, and summoned all the peers of England to attend him; but the whole had more the appearance of a splendid court, than of a military armament; and with more shew than real force, they arrived at Berwick.

The army of the Scots was not so numerous as that of the king, and was inferior in cavalry: but the officers had more reputation and experience; and though the soldiers were undisciplined and ill armed, they were animated by the fervours of religious zeal. The leaders of the malecontents immediately sent messages to the king, and to the generals, declaring, that they had no thoughts of entering into a war against England, but only to defend their rights and liberties, till they were allowed to have access to his majesty, to lay before him their complaints. Soon after, the Scots sent

* Mrs. Macaulay.

the earl of Dumferling with a petition to the king, entreating him to appoint commissioners to negotiate a peace. This was seconded by the voluntary advice of almost all the nobility in the camp; and Charles being, in a manner, obliged to enter into a treaty with the Scots, countermanded the orders he had sent to Hamilton, to do what mischief he could to the rebels.

Hamilton has been much censured by the violent loyalists, for the moderate part he acted in the execution of his orders against the Scots: but though he was attached to the king, he could not look without horror on the prospect of his country being conquered by Charles, and receiving the law from the king, Laud, and Strafford, with whose arbitrary principles he was thoroughly acquainted. Filled with these apprehensions, he was far from being in a hurry to perform the violent complaints of his master. Besides, an interesting circumstance excited all his humane feelings. The covenanters, after the example of the Romans in the same situation, sent Hamilton's mother, to try her influence over her son: she was a pious woman, and a warm covenanter; and doubtless made use of all the arguments the subject would admit, to make him forbear hostilities against his country. Whatever might be his resolution on entering the Frith, like Coriolanus, he could not resist the solicitations of a parent, nor break through the double tie of filial duty, by which he was bound, both by his
country

country and the fair negotiator. In this situation of mind, he, no doubt, received with infinite pleasure Charles's orders to repair to Berwick, and assist with his advice in the intended treaty*.

* *Memoirs of the duke of Hamilton, pag. 113.*
Mrs. Macaulay, vol. II. pag. 28.

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.